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“It’s another world”: the case of pupils’ transition to a Turkish residential high school.

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Education

University of Bath

Department of Education

February 2018

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Abstract

This thesis examines the transition experience of 34 Turkish early adolescents, leaving families and hometowns, and moving to a highly competitive, bilingual, boarding school. While they are all academic high-achievers, the pupils come from a range of socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, with different levels of English. For the first eight weeks of the transition, and again in the last week of the academic year, pupils responded in writing to various prompts designed to ascertain what they were experiencing and feeling. Six pupils were selected for in-depth, follow-on interviews. The addition of researcher observations and school data helps to triangulate the results in this case study.

A phenomenological approach assists in illuminating how the pupils transition to the new environment. Institutional, communal living is new for all, “another world”, and there is a range of reactions to all it entails, with everyone experiencing some difficulty at some stage of the process. While some pupils adjust relatively easily, some pupils do not complete the transition effectively. Analysis of the pupil’s words results in over-riding themes which influence the transition. Having strong residential friendships, certain characteristic traits, healthy family relationships and clear school structures, policies and practices all ease the adjustment process. Pupils undergo an intense experience, creating indelible memories, often positive, sometimes negative.

The study starts to fill the gap in literature concerning children’s experiences at boarding schools and suggesting areas to which schools and parents should pay attention. It benefits from the subjective perspective of those living the experiences, recounted contemporaneously and vividly. Its conclusions include the fact that each pupil has a unique experience of transition.

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1. Introduction

This thesis aims to examine the transition experience of Turkish adolescents new to a highly competitive, bilingual, residential high school, who have moved away from home and family. It attempts to describe, explain and analyse a phenomenon which is, according to one of my participants, incomprehensible for someone who has not experienced it:

Residential life is like a situation that nobody can understand without being [*sic*] residential student.

Gamze: WR9

This study attempts to address a gap in the literature concerning school transition, since there are very few studies on transition to boarding school, despite a significant number of children around the world engaging in such an experience, often at considerable expense. It also starts to fill a gap in studying the general experiences of residential pupils, especially from their perspective. It should be noted that the term “residential school” is repeatedly used throughout in preference to the term “boarding school”; “boarding” refers to being provided with meals and lodging in return for payment, and does not, in my understanding of its original meaning, include the concept of care; schools which house pupils are usually providing much more than meals and lodging.

According to Carr (2016, p.1), “education should authentically care for children and young people, striving to nurture, value and celebrate them for who they are, looking beyond their academic preparation and potential as knowledge workers and focusing upon their social, emotional, psychological, physical and spiritual needs as children and individuals”. This is even more true for residential schools where pupils live during term-time, with school staff’s responsibility 24 hours a day, usually 7 days a week, for students’ development outside, as well as inside, the classroom.

Being responsible for 185 residential pupils as part of my professional role, I am passionate about ensuring that my pupils have the best possible experience. A desire to always do better has resulted in this study: ultimately, the pupils in my care will benefit from the results of this in-depth, qualitative, phenomenological

study. More broadly, this topic is worthy of attention because other schools and organisations related with educating children in a residential setting can benefit from considering the results, and sparking an investigation into their own pupils' experiences. Any kind of social inquiry should be for the benefit of certain constituents (Stake, 2000); it is hoped that this study will lead to an increased awareness of the experiences of pupils new to a residential school, especially the future pupils of the school where this study was conducted.

Both the school and the participants have been given pseudonyms. As much as possible, every attempt has been made to hide the pupils' identities. Ethical issues surrounding anonymity will be dealt with in detail in the Methodology chapter.

1.1 Transition for these adolescent pupils

Transition involves a change adapting to one situation from another. Having already started the biological and psychological transition into adolescence, the pupils in this study have transitioned physically to a new location; interpersonally, they transitioned to a new set of peers; they started a linguistic transition into, for many, the relatively new language of English; culturally, they transitioned, living together with pupils from all over Turkey, and learning from teachers of different nationalities; and they started a cognitive and meta-cognitive transition into new styles of learning. It is so much more complex that suggesting that the term "homesickness" is adequate to describe disruptions to residential school transition.

Pupils have individual journeys of transition, taking different periods of time, and the degree of success on this road varies. Sometimes the journey is smooth and then suddenly, there is a pothole in the road. Sometimes it is a steep climb up a hill, and then a faster downward romp. Sometimes an alternative route is taken, and occasionally, the journey is interrupted and the destination not reached.

1.2 Research questions

There are two research questions driving this study:

1. What does the lived experience of transition to a residential high school look like?
2. What impacts the transition to residential life?

Both questions focus on one particular set of pupils experiencing the transition. Further research could ask the same questions to a different cohort of pupils in the same school, or to others in a different residential school setting.

1.3 Outline of the thesis

In this chapter, I have attempted to set the scene for the research as well as explain its focus. Chapter two is an investigation of literature relevant to this study, positioning this research in the context of previous knowledge. Chapter three consists of my methodological approach to the research. Chapters four through ten are the data analyses chapters: the first six short chapters concern the six individuals chosen as the selected sub-sample of the case study, and the seventh data analysis chapter examines the Written Responses with which all pupils were involved. Chapter eleven discusses the results of the study and places them in context compared with previous research. Finally, chapter twelve concludes the thesis, outlining the key findings of this study.

2. Literature Review

This chapter examines literature relevant when delving into the experiences of early adolescent Turkish pupils leaving their hometown, family and friends, and becoming residential pupils in a highly competitive, bilingual high school in Istanbul. This review reflects the many factors which define, refine or impact my interpretation of the pupils' experiences. Throughout the review, as much as possible, reference to research on Turkish pupils is included, since remembering the context of the research is vital. The literature was instrumental in guiding my investigation of the pupils' lived experiences of their transition, as well as identifying the significant influences on transition.

2.1 Introduction

Considering the number of children around the world attending residential schools and considering the influence such schools exert on the children in their care, it is extraordinary that there is so little research in this area. There have been historical and sociological studies of the boarding school tradition in the past (Wakeford, 1969; Wober, 1971; Lambert, 1975; Walford, 1986; Hickson, 1996) but little is known about what the children experienced. One notable exception is the research into the experience of pupils at 22 British boarding schools a quarter of a century ago (Britain and Morgan, 1993). Data is scarce and old. In more recent years, there have been occasional studies, mainly unpublished postgraduate studies (for example, Mollart, 2013 and Garlinski, 2014). Certainly, there are a few parental survey results but, for example, the Boarding Schools' Association (BSA) parental survey had a clear marketing purpose, aiming to ascertain "a detailed understanding of the customer journey" (BSA, 2016, p.4). Many schools now have visual data which they post frequently via social media, showing images of what the pupils are doing. However, the voice of the pupils is rarely heard, unless in the form of quotations on promotional materials. Hodges (2014), speaking about practice in Australian boarding schools, points out that a more systematic and data-driven approach is needed to determine needs and best practice, rather than relying on the experience and intuition of staff. Serious, academic study is lacking.

Residential schools have a long tradition in Britain and large Commonwealth countries, such as Australia and India, or countries influenced by the British Empire, such as the USA. There are significant numbers of children attending residential schools around the world: for example, approximately 75,000 in the UK (BSA 2017a); approximately 100,000 in Switzerland (Swiss Federation of Private Schools, 2015); over 50,000 in the USA (R. Phelps, personal communication, 24 September 2015); and over 20,000 in Australia (Australian Boarding Schools' Association, 2017). Most of such schools are independent and fee-paying; according to Power (2007), boarding schools have, for years, served a sociological function of separating classes, stamping a certain social marker on their products. It should be noted that this literature review deals with fee-paying, private residential schools, and does not include reference to governmental residential schools, such as those for indigenous children.

The UK's BSA (2017b) gives the ages of 7 or 8 as "usual points of entry" into their schools, which is a very young age for children to leave their parents. They also give the ages of 11,13 and 16 as other "usual" points of entry. Increasingly, international pupils are joining residential schools, especially English-medium schools, and are forming a significant chunk of the market: in the USA, for example, 35% of the boarding population comes from overseas (R. Phelps, personal communication, 24 September 2015).

Pupils may be full-time residential, or weekly boarders, and there has been a recent increase in "flexi-boarding" options. School promotional materials overflow with the benefits of such a choice of school, including small class size, excellent facilities, strong pastoral care, outstanding examination results and close friendships. However, all of these can be achieved by good day schools (Halicioğlu, 2016).

What this study seeks to do is to explore the lived experiences of Turkish early adolescents in a highly competitive, Turkish residential school; that requires understanding and exploring intersections in relation to a number of social, psychological, cultural, educational and school-based factors. The following sections of the literature review highlight potential areas impacting the lived experience.

2.2 The cultural context of Turkey

2.2.1 Turkish society

Turkey has undergone rapid social change in the last 50 years, from a rural, agricultural society to a more modern, urban, industrialised society. Western cultural aspects are increasingly being accepted (Stockton and Güneri, 2011). Even so, values and attitudes of the people are slower to change than social structures (Fişek, 1982). Much of the seminal research on the culture of Turkey was done over a quarter of a century ago (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a) and it might be postulated that it is out-of-date. However, culture, customs and traditions have not transformed rapidly in Turkey in the last quarter of a century; while the influence of the West is increasingly being felt in some areas, the pro-Islamist government of recent years has slowed down Western influence.

Hofstede (1984) found Turkey to have a high Power Distance Index. He showed a society where conformity is valued, where paternalistic hierarchy is expected, where independent learning is not common in schools, and teachers are revered for their knowledge (Hofstede, 1991). Turkey also has high Uncertainty Avoidance (Hofstede, 1984) showing that there is a fear of failure, less risk-taking and conflict avoidance. A low Individualism Index points to a collectivist society where loyalty and group belongingness are valued (Hofstede, 1984), where qualifiers are frequently used in speech (such as “*inşallah*”, which means “God willing”) and where time concepts are flexible (Smith and Bond, 1993). However, Sümer (1998) pointed out a contradiction as there are individualistic trends in Turkish education and commerce, with high competition. Gelfand *et al.* (2011) developed a more condensed paradigm of culture-types in their study of 33 nations, including Turkey, ranging from tight or loose. The degree of tightness or looseness is determined by “the strength of social norms and tolerance of deviant behavior” (Gelfand *et al.*, 2011, p.1101). Turkey was found to be the sixth most tight country, meaning that life in Turkey, across all situations, is governed quite strictly by societal expectations of behaviour.

Migration to cities has resulted in social change (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982b). It should be remembered that a cosmopolitan city such as Istanbul with a population of 14,804,116 cannot be compared with smaller provinces, such as Bartın, with a

population of 192,389 (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2017): moving from the country to the city of Bartın still counts as migration, yet the degree of social change is probably significantly less than the social change occurring in Istanbul. The roots of an individual are not forgotten and even someone who has lived in Istanbul for 50 years will still tell you where he is really from, i.e. where he was born and the region to which he remains connected.

2.2.2 Turkish education

Every country's educational philosophy and practices reflect the culture of the country, equally as much as the way people eat, dress or work (Fail, 2000). Turkey is no different. Education tends to be traditional, and investment insufficient: in 2015, 5.8% of the Gross National Product was spent on education, with most of that going to tertiary education (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2016). The Turkish Ministry of Education oversees every aspect of school-life, whether state or private, even down to micro-managing who passes or fails (Halıcıoğlu, 2008). Politics and education are intertwined in Turkey with educational reform being a common theme of each government (Mammadov, 2015).

The results of the two-stage Temel Eğitimden Ortaöğretime Geçiş (TEOG) examinations held during 8th grade determine the points needed to enter Turkish high schools the following year. At the end of the academic year preceding this study, 1,281,367 pupils finished 8th grade and were to take the TEOG examinations (T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2015); these were the eligible pupils for joining the school in this study. Stress amongst Turkish primary school pupils preparing for such examinations is considerable but is often exaggerated (Boyacıoğlu and Kucuk, 2011). At the other end of the high school education process are the annual Turkish university examinations: intense, competitive tests causing psychological stress for many Turkish late adolescents (Erzen and Odacı, 2016).

In Turkey, it is common for parents, regardless of their socio-economic status, to spend much of their income investing in their child's education (Boyacıoğlu and Kucuk, 2011), including sending their child to a private school. Private Turkish high schools educate 11.8% of high school age pupils (T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı,

2017). Children will often be aware of the sacrifices their parents are making for their benefit, which places pressure on the child. High parental expectations for Turkish children's academic achievement exist from an early age, as parents desire their child's improved socio-economic status (Şahin, Topkaya and Kürkçü, 2016).

Teachers and textbooks are expected to be the ultimate knowledge in the traditional Turkish classroom (Thompson, 2001); rote-learning is common (Thompson, 2001; Yildirim *et al.*, 2008). Facilities in Turkish state schools are minimal which reduce opportunities for practical application of concepts learned (Yildirim *et al.*, 2008). From an educational point of view, there has been a call for more pupil autonomy and a more active approach to learning (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996), to combat some of the cultural norms inhibiting learning in a global society.

2.2.3 Turkish families

Turkish families are extended and close-knit; traditionally, villages consist of people who are related, either by blood or marriage (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982b). In cities, it is quite common for close relations to live in the same building, in separate apartments; Duben found this in 1982 and it is still much the same in 2018.

A typical Turkish family structure is hierarchical, especially regarding age, and with the dominance of males (Fişek, 1982; Ataca, Kagitcibasi and Diri, 2005). Roles are clearly defined (Fişek, 1982). There is respect for elders, which extends to a respect for authority, patriotism and nationalism (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982b). Parental obedience is expected (Fişek, 1982): even second-generation, urban Turkish adolescents living in Belgium accepted parental control as part of their culture (Güngör and Bornstein, 2010).

Honour is an important concept in the family unit; female family members find their behaviour and their movements often restricted by male family members, because of the males' fear of damaging family honour (Ataca, Kagitcibasi and Diri, 2005). Family relationships are robust (Ataca, Kagitcibasi and Diri, 2005). It is interesting to note that Yildirim's (1997) Turkish adolescents considered "family" as their main source of "belongingness", followed by "friendships". The

mother/son relationship is much closer than the father/son relationship (Fişek, 1982). Turkish fathers tend not to display verbal intimacy with their families (Boratav, Fişek and Ziya, 2014). Some well-educated, urban Turkish males find a conflict between culturally expected behaviour and what they believe to be appropriate behaviour in a more contemporary society, especially concerning relationships with their children (Boratav, Fişek and Ziya, 2014). Sunar (2009) discovered a significant shift in urban parenting practices over two generations in her Turkish sample, with both parents showing more affection, encouraging more autonomy and demonstrating less controlling behaviours.

2.3 Transition to a secondary/high school

A common time for school transition, sometimes known as transfer, is at the end of sixth grade. Most of the research on transition of adolescents concerns this time period; there is much less literature on pupils who move later to high school after 8th grade (see, for example, Longobardi *et al.*, 2016), which can be disruptive for adolescents (Rice, 2001; Benner, Boyle and Bakhtiari, 2017), and even less is available on the move to a residential school (see, for example, Mollart, 2013; Alabed, 2017). Coleman (2011) suggests that moving schools is a rite of passage, and that, according to life course theory, there needs to be such discontinuities in order to foster change and to learn how to adapt.

As Evans *et al.* (2010, p. 46) states, “transition is a time of vulnerability”. It is an interruption to the *status quo* (Anderson *et al.*, 2000). Feelings which are aroused concerning the start and end of school transitions draw on pupils’ experiences of separation and change from childhood and even infancy (Youell, 2006) so one can expect high sensitivity at such times. Any life change, such as transition to a new school, happens without the comfort of familiar routines to define and delineate expected behaviours (Pillemer, 2001).

During transitional periods, an individual’s sense of identity can be challenged. Ironically, adolescents have to learn to conform to a new set of rules and expectations during school transition at the very time in their development when autonomy is desired (Youell, 2006; Schaffhuser, Allemand and Schwarz, 2017). It is interesting that in many official, advisory documents on school transition (e.g.

Galton *et al.*, 2003; Evangelou *et al.*, 2008; Evans *et al.*, 2010; Sutherland *et al.*, 2010), there are no references to transition to residential schools, in spite of a significant number of students across the world moving into such institutions, something which requires an even greater transition than a move to a new day school.

Anderson *et al.* (2000) suggest that transition to secondary school or high school is difficult for most pupils. For some, it is traumatic (Sutherland *et al.*, 2010). Rather than looking forward to the new experiences, many are worried (Zeedyk *et al.*, 2003; Pratt and George, 2005), especially if they are moving to a new school without their friends (Weller, 2007). Many spend the summer holiday preceding the move worrying about the event, such as wondering whether the rumours of initiation are true (Galton, Morrison and Pell, 2000) or whether they will get lost, be bullied, or be successful in making new friends (Shepherd and Roker, 2005). The Scottish pupils of Bryan and Treanor (2007) had more social concerns than academic concerns, such as the fear of bullying and making new friends. The unstructured times in high school, such as lunchtimes, transitions between classrooms and extra-curricular activities, can be stressful for some pupils as they can emphasise isolation and anonymity (Ellerbrock and Kiefer, 2013).

Transition is often accompanied by a drop in academic self-concept and academic self-confidence (Sutherland *et al.*, 2010; Molloy, Ram and Gest, 2011; Schaffhuser, Allemand and Schwarz, 2017). When there is academic selection as part of the school transition, this can have an effect on academic self-concept, due to the “big fish – little pond” effect (Marsh and Hau, 2003): the most able students in their primary school who move to a secondary school full of high achievers can feel less competent and confident when comparing themselves to their new, equally clever peers.

2.4 Key factors affecting adolescents transitioning to a residential school

As well as experiencing new emotions such as excitement and joy when moving to a residential school, pupils are likely to face new situations manifesting as challenges, having a potential impact on the fluidity of transition. This section of

the literature review will investigate key factors in terms of potential challenges, as well as identify potential protective influences in the transition process. It should be remembered that what for one pupil could be a source of happiness, for another could be a source of concern or even distress. The review below does not claim to be exhaustive but should give a flavour of the types of challenges which could be faced, as well as identify ways to ease transition.

2.4.1 The institutional environment and its effect

2.4.1.1 Residential routines, practices and responses

Schools often have initiation routines, either ways which the school officially welcomes the pupils, or unofficial ways in which older students “welcome” the newcomers. At Harrow School, for example, the newcomers are widely referred to as the “shells” and they must sit on the floor during registration (*Harrow: a very British school*, 2013). This seems to contradict Williams’ (2016) advice to have flatter social structures within schools and to eradicate terminology which encourages bullying; the naming and the seating isolates them rather than integrates them into the new environment, and the term “shells” implies something small and delicate, easily broken.

Pupils are exposed to so many other children, and there is the potential for encountering those who are unkind, verbally or physically; staff cannot always be present so the sense of personal safety and security may vary from pupil to pupil. However, when an institution has the right kind of behavioural expectations, peer interactions can be positive (Wentzel, 2009); this is extremely important to minimize victimization (Yeates, 2004).

Bullying peaks during middle school (Yilmaz, 2011). Looking at the Turkish context, there are a number of studies into bullying. Atik and Güneri (2013) found that verbal bullying was the most common type, and that having a high external locus of control and a high degree of loneliness were predictors of being either a bully or a victim. Surprisingly, they found no correlation between self-esteem and being a bully or a victim, but high academic achievement decreased the likelihood of being a bully or a victim. Turkish boys bully more than Turkish girls (Yilmaz, 2011; Topcu and Erdur-Baker, 2012; Atik and Güneri, 2013). Turkish girls suffer

more indirect bullying than boys, such as gossip, whereas Turkish boys experience more verbal and physical bullying (Siyahhan, Aricak and Cayirdag-Acar, 2012).

Many schools make reference to their residential communities as families. For some, the stability of residential school routines is a relief from their home life which may be unstable and dysfunctional (Schaverien, 2015). Some children get pleasure and satisfaction from having a “large sibling group” (Schaverien, 2015, p.5). For others, having to live alongside so many strangers can be quite overwhelming (Schaverien, 2015). Residential pupils benefit from unstructured time, so that they can focus on “being” rather than “doing” (Mollart, 2013).

Certain routines and expectations deny pupils their individuality. When everyone is expected to wear the same uniform, an opportunity for individuals to express their personality is lost; this was noted by one of Mollart’s (2013) participants. Communal meals, something which is often a feature of residential schools, can enhance the sense of community and allow staff to be sure everyone has eaten, but they do not recognize that some children may be fussy eaters, may not be hungry at the fixed meal times, or may find the food different to what they are used to at home.

Some routines and traditions can take away children’s choices. “Lights out” is usually decided not by the individuals, but by the staff. At home, children may be able to grab a snack whenever they wish; not so in most residential facilities. Even the time of showering can be decided by the school, not by the individual. As Schaverien (2015) points out, some routines and practices which were widely accepted two generations ago, are now considered unthinkable, one such practice being corporal punishment. It is interesting to note, as she points out, that beating continued until 1999 in British boarding schools, twelve years after it was prohibited in state schools. Williams (2016), the Safeguarding Adviser for the BSA, is very clear in his advice for schools to be wary of traditions and titles which emphasise hierarchical systems amongst the pupils, suggesting that their use can negate a schools’ effort to safeguard children.

Other practices, especially for young pupils, can have the effect of truncating their childhood. In some traditional boys’ residential schools, boys as young as seven

are referred to by their surnames, which is a stark contrast to the use of their first name in their family (Schaverien, 2015) and implies a coldness and lack of individuality. Choice of uniform, such as sports jackets and tailcoats, is intended to make the boys seem like little men: yet there is something incongruous about an eight year old boy dressed in a sports jacket talking about his teddy bear ("Britain's youngest boarders", 2010).

Boarding schools now are keen to show a more humane face, compared with their past. Take Caldicott School as an example, the school featured in the Channel 4 documentary on sexual abuse ("Chosen", 2008). The school's Twitter feed #teddylovesboarding (Caldicott Boarding, 2017b) features a teddy bear "enjoying" the day's activities. It also features a photograph of the Year 6's pre-dinner drinks (Caldicott Boarding, 2017a) with a group of 6th graders in suits and ties standing around before dinner is formally served. This is not typical 6th grade behavioural expectations.

Institutions need to develop routines regarding pupils' sleep as inadequate sleep is a global problem for adolescents, referring to the quality of sleep as well as the duration: for example, Mak *et al.* (2010) found this was the case in Hong Kong; Short *et al.* (2013) in Australia; Tonetti *et al.* (2015) in Italy; Santiago *et al.* (2017) in Brazil; and Wernette and Emory (2017) in the USA. Many authors suggest that lack of adequate sleep negatively impacts cognition and therefore academic performance, physical and mental health (for example, Adolescent Sleep Working Group, 2014; Stea, Knutsen and Torstveit, 2014; Titova *et al.*, 2015), yet others found no correlation between the amount of adolescent sleep time and academic performance (Eliasson *et al.*, 2002; Tonetti *et al.*, 2015). However, sleep deprivation does have a negative effect on adolescent mood (Seo *et al.*, 2017), especially on girls (Short and Louca, 2015). Santiago *et al.* (2017) found that 65% of the adolescents in a residential school had self-reported sleeping difficulties, more prevalent among girls than boys. The relationship between fatigue, depression and anxiety in adolescence should not be forgotten (Short *et al.*, 2013).

The lack of unbiased data makes an assessment of residential education extremely difficult. Parental surveys show one side of the picture (BSA, 2016), television documentaries can give a different view (for example, "Britain's

youngest boarders”, 2010) but until we actually learn more about what pupils really experience, we cannot see the full picture. In Spring 2018, the BSA is launching the Centre for Boarding Education Research, in collaboration with its Australian counterpart, “to collate existing and future boarding research and make it accessible for practitioners” (R. Fletcher, personal communication, 2 November 2017). This initiative is laudable, and it is to be hoped that independent, impartial research, including serious academic studies, will be undertaken.

2.4.1.2 Staff

Staff have a major influence on a pupil’s residential experience. They are more important than the facilities, the school’s history and reputation, and examination results. Hiring the right people for the job is essential. As Upham (2010) stated, working in a residential school is not just a job: it is a way of life. If a residential staff member lives in the same facility as the pupils, she is always on view: her private life, her visitors, her habits, even her rubbish can be scrutinized by curious adolescents. People who live and work so closely with adolescents are relying heavily on their emotional energy, which would usually be reserved for their personal, not professional, life (Kahan, 1994). Residential staff need a vast range of skills since their roles need to change according to the spontaneous situations they face: one minute a counsellor to one pupil, a big sister to another, and the next minute, a disciplinarian to another (Hotchkiss and Kowalchick, 2002). This is challenging: on the one hand, they have to be able to develop empathetic relationships yet they also need to maintain appropriate distance, as befits their supervisory role (Hodges, Sheffield and Ralph, 2016). Staff need support: one Turkish school provides counselling supervision for its residential staff teams, allowing opportunities for training, reflection and validation (Halıcıoğlu, 2015). Parents are delegating their child-rearing responsibilities to staff who are strangers (Schaverien, 2015): the level of trust which parents put in such strangers is immense.

Ideally, residential staff should spend all their time on duty in the presence of pupils in their care, not doing other tasks (Lynch, 2017). Yet staff cannot know their charges as well as their parents know them: they don’t have the history nor the free time to devote to individuals. One staff member for fifteen or more pupils

is a common ratio for residential schools (Anderson, 2005). Add to this the fact that for many staff, their residential role is just one of their multiple functions in a school, including teaching and coaching, which makes it difficult to maintain quality interactions in the evening, after a long school day. The staff in an American boarding school taking part in the research of Garlinski (2014) accepted this situation and wished they could do more to support the pupils in their care.

Staff are not parents, yet they are acting *in loco parentis*, which means they take on “the legal responsibility of some person or organization to perform some of the functions or responsibilities of a parent” (Legal Information Institute, 2017). Terms such as “housemother” and “housefather” suggest confused roles, as they are not parents. One school suggests that staff fulfill “term-time parenting” (Harrow School, 2017), but that denies the continuing role of the actual parents. In addition, many schools refer to themselves as a family which I suggest is erroneous: there should be a warm, compassionate, supportive community but the individuals in that institution are not part of a family.

2.4.1.3 A new culture

Pupils moving to a residential school encounter a new culture, very different from home. For many pupils, they face “culture fatigue” (Guthrie, 1966) in addition to the more widely coined phrase “culture shock” (Lysgaard, 1955; Oberg, 1960); pupils can be fatigued and worn down by the constant reminders that they are living in an alien environment. Even for those pupils who embrace the new culture with vigour, they still encounter a number of losses, such as loss of family:

“...boarding breaks intimate bonds and causes the child to live for a significant part of his or her childhood subject to an unsympathetic regime, effectively in captivity.”

Schaverien (2015, p.127)

Schaverien (2015) likens this to bereavement, for the loss of the mother as well as the premature loss of the child-self; the main difference between this school bereavement and a real death is that at school, no one acknowledges that the child is bereft, and there is no opportunity for mourning.

Pupils experience a loss of privacy. Schaverien (2011a) comments on communal eating, washing and sleeping, which are indicative of the lack of privacy in residential schools. I would go further and point to dressing and undressing, often in shared bedrooms, which is even more intrusive and with possible sexual connotations. As pupils get older, they are more likely to have to share with fewer pupils, and may even have their own *en suite* bedroom. Girls starting to menstruate when at a residential school might be upsetting, as well as the inevitable accidents in bed, and the evidence for all to see the following morning. Adolescent boys have wet dreams, and masturbation would be experienced privately if at home, but that is not the case in shared bedrooms at school (Schaverien, 2011a). The male participants of Mollart (2013) commented on their lack of privacy. Yet privacy is rarely addressed in school promotional materials. The Council of International Schools (2017) is one of the few organisations to recognize that this basic human need must be met in order for residential schools to achieve international accreditation.

“Children in boarding school live in captivity”, so says Schaverien (2016, p.23). While this sounds shocking, it is somewhat true. They cannot leave the school without permission; they cannot move freely at certain times. Many of Mollart’s (2013) participants acknowledged this fact of their residential lives, one boy even likening the school to a concentration camp, another suggesting that being closeted away made them out of touch with the real world.

2.4.2 The stage of early adolescence

This section of the literature review concentrates mainly on early adolescence, the most crucial period of adolescence (Blos, 1971), since the participants in this one-year study were aged 13-14 when they joined their new school. New developmental experiences can be influential on the transition, especially since they were living communally with others going through similar developmental experiences.

Adolescence is characterised by growing independence from family members, by an increased interest in and the number of social relationships, and by the

development of self-concept and self-esteem (Darling, Hamilton and Shaver, 2003). There can be psychological pain along the way (Youell, 2006; Coleman, 2011). There are biological, psychological, relational and cognitive transitions to manoeuvre. There are often additional social transitions, especially during early adolescence, such as moving schools, or shifting expectations from adults (Coleman, 2011).

Much of the twentieth century research into adolescent development was culturally bound (such as Hall, 1904; Erikson, 1968; Blos, 1971; Youniss and Smollar, 1985), largely focused on white, western societies. Offer *et al.* (1988, p.110) conducted a large scale study of adolescents' self image in ten countries, including Turkey, and they coined the term "the universal adolescent" as they suggested there was not a wide range of variance in teenagers' experiences of adolescence. This generalization is somewhat misguided: looking at their sample for Turkey, it was clearly not representative of the general population, surveying only 450 urban, upper middle class teenagers from Adana. Klassen and Kuzucu (2009) suggest that the globalization of adolescence is resulting in fewer cultural differences. I agree with Barnes (1995) that it is important not to generalize about adolescence since there can be different responses, approaches and expectations according to gender, class, ethnicity and culture.

Self-concept and self-esteem are developed during adolescence. Self-concept resembles self-knowledge in that the individual thinks of him/herself in concrete terms or categories, such as a pianist, or a swimmer, or a sister. Self-esteem concerns the values which people give themselves, resembling a rating on a continuum from low to high self esteem (Jordan, Zeigler-Hill and Cameron, 2015), the extent to which they are, for example, a good pianist, or a good swimmer or a good sister.

During adolescence, self-concept changes but also solidifies what is already there (Coleman, 2011). The way others see them, as well as the way they see themselves, has an impact on adolescents' self-concept which, in turn, has an influence on how they behave (Frydenberg, 1997). This can be a positive or a negative motivation. Their beliefs impact their emotional responses (Cobb, 2006). Significant self-awareness and self-reflection occurs for the first time during early

adolescence (Zacares and Iborra, 2015); those with a positive self-concept are more likely to be academically successful (Marsh and Hau, 2003).

Not surprisingly, parents have an influence on an adolescent's self-esteem (Dusek and McIntyre, 2003) and self-image (Herbert, 1987). Warmth and acceptance from authoritative parents mean that the adolescent feels valued which raises self-esteem (Dusek and McIntyre, 2003). Dekovic and Meeus (1997), in a study of 508 families with adolescent members, found convincing evidence that supportive parents combined with a positive self-concept resulted in strong peer relations, another means for passing more smoothly through adolescence. Exactly the opposite is true when parents are too intrusive or use guilt on their adolescent children as this results in low self-esteem, as Litovsky and Dusek (1985) found in their research with 130 early adolescent pupils.

The shaping of identity is the adolescent's main task, according to Herbert (1987), as it prepares the ground for close, intimate relationships later on in life. Marcia (1980) considered adolescent identity formation to be dynamic, but Meeus (2011), after reviewing 66 studies done in a ten-year period, suggests it is much less dynamic than commonly assumed. There is a dual component to identity: as well as considering the self, there is the need to consider the relationship with the broader community (Buckingham, 2007; Zacares and Iborra, 2015), including attaining "an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count" (Erikson, 1968, p.165). So there is a psychosocial impact on identity development; Erikson (1968) was the first to state that the community was important in helping adolescents shape their identity, by community members recognizing and assisting in the individual's journey. The community's tolerance for adolescents to explore freely, giving them a moratorium, was considered necessary, resulting in choices and commitments for their future. Living in a residential school with other early adolescents, there are many opportunities for identity development and exploration, including learning how to build strong and supportive relationships. As Crocetti (2017) reminds us, the ability of adolescents to secure a stable identity during the adolescent period is crucial for their future well-being and interactions within society.

Early adolescence is a period when the feeling of exclusion can be even more intense than at other periods of the life development cycle (Frydenberg, 1997). It

is also a time when teenagers can be intolerant and cruel to others who they think are different (Erikson, 1968). Adolescents care how others view them (Herbert, 1987); the influence of peers on identity development is considerable (Wentzel, 2009). Peers can be a source of adolescent stress (Frydenberg, 1997), especially when they conflict with individuals' values and beliefs (Coleman, 1980). The Chinese participants of Zhang *et al.* (2013), who experienced interpersonal issues, had a high level of depression. Across the Pacific, Beran and Lupart (2009) found that Canadian adolescents with behavioural issues were often ridiculed and/or ostracized by their peers in school, which caused stress and isolated them from collaborative educational experiences, which impacted their learning.

Even though gender is now considered to be a much more fluid concept than at the time of much of the research mentioned below, some studies have identified significant differences in how different genders have experienced adolescence. For example, adolescent girls experience more anxiety than adolescent boys, and this seems true across national boundaries: Akse *et al.* (2007) for Dutch adolescents; Hampel and Petermann (2006) for Austrians; and Oliva, Jiménez and Parra (2009) for Spaniards. While some researchers discovered that adolescent girls had higher levels of depression (e.g. Öngen, 2006; Kriston and Piko, 2017), there was found to be no gender difference in depressive symptoms amongst Alpaslan, Kocak and Avci's (2016) Turkish adolescents. They suggest the reason is cultural, that the more traditional gender roles in Turkish culture would predict male depression; another study of Turkish adolescents (Şahin and Adana, 2016) found that boys were more lonely than girls. Girls, more than boys, turn to their friends for social support (Hartup, 1993; Frydenberg, 1997).

2.4.3 Influence of parents

The way children interact socially is largely dependent on the level of emotional security they experienced with their primary care-givers, usually parents, during infancy (Bowlby, 1969). This is referred to as attachment theory, a major concept in psychology and psychotherapy. A warm, mutually satisfying and uninterrupted mother-child relationship will lay the foundations for good psychological health in the future, says Bowlby (1973), and good future relationships. Van Ijzendoorn and

Sagi-Schwartz (2008) found that even though there are different attachment behaviours in different cultures, attachment theory and attachment types are consistent across cultures, which confirmed Bowlby's (1969) belief in the universality of attachment theory.

Bowlby (1973) suggests that a strong relationship between parents and adolescents is important for the adolescent's ability to be self-reliant and to develop a sense of individuality. This relationship, knowing that the parent is available and supportive at all times, is what Bowlby (1973, p.322) refers to as "the bedrock on which stable and self-reliant personalities are built". This strong relationship seems to contradict what is on public view often, namely adolescents struggling against parents in search of autonomy (Allen and Land, 1999). Of course, the relationship changes during adolescence and flexibility is a necessary component at this stage of the child's development, flexibility on both sides (Allen and Land, 1999); when each internal model is regularly reviewed and revised, according to the developmental stage of the adolescent, a secure attachment relationship is maintained (Bowlby, 1969). A secure attachment allows the adolescent to explore emotional responses within the safety of a supportive and responsive attachment figure, usually a parent (Bowlby, 1988; Allen and Land, 1999), again something which is promoting the development of the soon-to-be adult; a secure maternal attachment also predicts less adolescent loneliness (Al-Yagon *et al.*, 2016). When feeling insecure, or anxious or unwell or fatigued, an individual looks for proximity to the attachment figure (Bowlby, 1988). Adolescents need to be able to remain emotionally connected while also separating from their parents; Ponappa, Bartle-Haring and Day (2014) refer to this as "healthy separation", and they found different versions of "healthy separation" according to the ethnic background of their US participants.

Children experience their first social awareness in the family unit, and develop skills which should serve them well for future social interactions (Margalit, 2010). As Margalit (2010, p.86) reminds us, "parenting is a complex process", and often challenging (Raws, 2016). It is a two-way, reciprocal process as parents influence their children and children influence their parents (Spera, 2005; Margalit, 2010; Feres-Carneiro *et al.*, 2016). Baumrind (1978) identified three parent styles: authoritative, permissive and authoritarian. A fourth style, rejecting-neglecting parenting, was added by Maccoby and Martin (1983), categorizing each style

according to the level of responsiveness/ warmth, and level of control. Baumrind (1991) reduced these styles to two dimensions, defined as the degree of parent responsiveness and demandingness. It seems widely accepted that the authoritative parenting style is the most effective: “firm, negotiated control within a warm and loving environment” (Margalit, 2010, p.87), inductive parenting which has a positive effect (Dusek and McIntyre, 2003), especially on academic achievement (Steinberg, Elmen and Mounts, 1989; Chapell and Overton, 2001). Authoritative parenting requires adolescents to use cognition, as it is bi-directional, thoughtful and thought-provoking (Chapell and Overton, 2001). However, Spera (2005) discovered that authoritative parenting leading to high levels of achievement was not consistent across socioeconomic status, ethnicity nor culture.

Parental engagement is widely considered important to maximise children’s learning at school (see, for example, Epstein, 2010; Goodall and Montgomery, 2014; Wilder, 2014). A variety of models for parenting subsequent to Baumrind (1978) have been devised, including the five-level theoretical model for parental involvement of Hoover-Dempsey and Sadler (1995,1997), subsequently condensed to the two-level model of Walker *et al.* (2005). Goodall (2013) includes authoritative parenting in her six-point model to support children’s learning.

One responsibility of parenting is to exercise control over children. Behavioural control is what is more widely accepted as appropriate, not psychological control which is damaging (Barber, 1996), and which results in adolescent stress, feelings of frustration, incapacity and inadequacy (Soenens and Beyers, 2012). As mentioned previously, authoritative parenting exerts control, but in a loving and supportive way, and via negotiation. While some authors believe that parental control is viewed very differently by adolescents in diverse cultures based on individualist or collectivist tendencies, Soenens and Beyers (2012) found the universal detrimental effect of parental psychological control.

Much of the research into parenting is culturally bound, largely focused on white, western societies (for example, Bowlby, 1969; Baumrind, 1978). However, some research has been carried out in western schools with multi-ethnic populations (such as Dornbusch *et al.*, 1987; Harris and Goodall, 2008): it should be remembered that an inner city school in certain areas of the United States or the

UK, for example, may have pupils from a range of cultural backgrounds. Dornbusch *et al.* (1987) found that Baumrind's typology of parenting styles (1978) related with academic achievement fit to their large, multi-cultural sample of San Francisco adolescents, with only Hispanic males not conforming to the typology. The ethnically diverse participants in the studies of Mistry *et al.* (2009) were motivated to achieve academically by their mothers' expectations and parenting style: it should be noted that fathers were not included in the study. Fan, Williams and Wolters (2012) found similar results related with both parents in their American sample of white, Afro-American, Asian and Hispanic pupils. Such studies extend the work of Darling and Steinberg (1993) who found that parental expectations resulted in specific parenting practices, which led to improved pupil achievement in school. According to Fan and Chen (2001), it is this parental expectation which is so important for children's academic performance. Harris and Goodall (2008), who researched parental engagement and school achievement in schools in England, considered parents the most significant influence on their child's learning, and this influence continues throughout the schooling years. Thus, it appears that parental engagement in pupils' schooling has a positive impact regardless of ethnicity in the majority of western-based studies (Wilder, 2014).

Yet Goodall (2017) reminds us that it is important not to over-generalise in terms of parental engagement since every family situation is unique, that parental willingness to be involved in schooling can vary according to cultural beliefs, and that parenting in a non-western cultural style should not be considered inferior. In Turkey, for example, with a high Power Distance Index (Hofstede, 1984), parents do not expect to be involved in schooling since it is up to the experts, the teachers, to do what is needed. What seems clear, however, is that things are changing. In China, for example, Lu and Chang (2013) discovered that authoritative parenting was common for urban single-child families, which goes against the previous, more traditional, authoritarian child-rearing practices. Turkey is such a diverse country, that one should be careful not to generalize about cultural practices as what goes on in the city of Istanbul may be very different from the villages of eastern Turkey; even what is acceptable in one home in Istanbul may be different from a home in the next street.

There is very little research into the influence of parents in non-western settings. Parveen, Hussain and Reba (2016) found that, similar to Turkish parents, their Pakistani parents did not believe it right to be involved with the teaching-learning process in schools. Sangawi, Adams and Reissland (2015) studied 21 articles on parenting styles and children's behaviour in different countries including Iran, China, Taiwan and Pakistan, and concluded that more cross-cultural research is needed in this area.

2.4.4 Friendship

Friendship can be defined as “a voluntary dyadic relationship characterized by reciprocity in attraction, companionship, and support” (Markiewicz and Doyle, 2011, p.254). The importance of friendship during adolescence should not be underestimated: friends “are socialization agents, guiding adolescents into new, more adult roles” (Cobb, 2006, p.243). Epstein and Karweit (1983) rightly point out that both development factors and environmental influences have huge impacts on friendship development in adolescence, that the social context's structure is hugely influential. As the adolescent develops, there is an increased focus on dyadic relationships (Rose, 2002), eventually leading to dyadic romantic relationships. This literature review deals only with same sex friends. A distinction must be made between the terms “friend” and “peer”, since both can sometimes be used synonymously in the literature. Friends can be, and usually are, peers but the intensity of relationship occurs between friends, not between peers.

Friendship is a form of social capital (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). Trust and reciprocity are vital for the building of this social capital (Putnam, 2000). Pupils have to make “daily investments” at school in order to keep the return high (Brown, 2012, p.232). Not everyone's investment pays off, however: Brown (2012) noticed in her “turbulent” pupils that sometimes gestures of friendship fell on stoney ground, and social capital was not created.

Douvan (1983, p.63) encapsulates the essence of adolescent friendship: “friendship at this stage [adolescence] is rich, intense, vivid and volatile, and it absorbs and centers much of the young person's energy.” It sounds somewhat exciting but also unpredictable, something which could be overwhelming in its

wholeness. Laursen (1996) applies exchange theory to understand close adolescent relationships, including friendships, where mutual rewards lead to closeness and interdependence, in an equal partnership, and where costs lead to conflicts: the more mutual the rewards, the fewer the conflicts and the closer the friendship. Friendships during early adolescence are different to friendships acquired subsequently since the adolescent is an apprentice, slowly learning through experience and maturity (Laursen, 1996). Compared with previous friendships, adolescent friendships are more intimate and more influential (Berndt, 1996).

A quality friendship is one where there is mutual give and take, where care and support is regularly received (the rewards of friendship) and where self-interest can take second place, when necessary (the costs of friendship) (Epstein, 1983). Youniss and Smollar (1985) found that trustworthiness and respect were essential components of close friendship. Thus, adolescent friendships are “principled relationships” (Youniss and Smollar, 1985, p.130). Friends fill the gap when parents are not available (Coleman, 2011) or are not able to understand. Friends also help with the building of self-esteem and self-awareness, developing problem-solving skills and coping mechanisms (Margalit, 2010). Having a best friend is a strong indicator of adjustment for children and adolescents, but not necessarily a guarantee for well-being; it depends on the quality of the relationship (Markiewicz and Doyle, 2011). The ability to self-disclose is crucial for intimacy to be achieved in close friendships (Berndt, 2002). Clearly this leads to intensity of relationships. Gossip contributes to the development of friendships and builds intimacy: it is used by popular adolescent dyads as a means of setting norms, gaining social capital, and expressing opinions (Aikins, Collibee and Cunningham, 2017).

If there are strong bonds between adolescents and their parents, then attachment theory and social learning theory suggest that there will be strong bonds between their friends too (Brown and Klute, 2003; Markiewicz and Doyle, 2011). Indeed, learning about close relationships in the home has a direct effect on adolescents building friendships (Coleman, 2011).

Adolescents who use their friends for social support do better than those who don't share their feelings with their friends (Frydenberg, 1997). Close friendships

can reduce the chance of depression (Yeates, 2004; Zhang *et al.*, 2013). Good adolescent friendships can positively impact academic achievement (Wentzel, 2003; Margalit, 2010; Wentzel and Muenks, 2016). When friends set high, yet realistic, academic expectations for each other, this results in intrinsic learning, as there is an authentic and shared reason to work (Wentzel, 2009). Close support by friends is especially important when pupils move to high school, Wentzel (2009) says, when uncertainties abound, there are multiple teachers, different class settings and a more complex schedule. Consider how much more this must be the case when they are moving to a residential setting. Margalit (2010) is very clear that a lack of friends is a harmful state; at least one supportive friendship is a preventative measure against internalising and externalising behaviour (Asher and Paquette, 2003).

Social exclusion can be very upsetting in early adolescence, a time when trust and loyalty (Frydenberg, 1987) and being affiliated with a group (Cobb, 2006; Coleman, 2011) are craved. Coleman (2011, p.184) refers to adolescent loneliness as “unwanted solitude”. While some solitary adolescents do seem able to function, often with the support of a family member, or learn to interact as maturity comes, others remain socially isolated, sometimes due to their isolating behaviours (Coleman, 2011). Coleman (2011) reminds us that research shows that most socially excluded adolescents do not flourish. Pupils who do not feel cared about by their peers, and with few school friends, are at greater risk of academic problems, especially concerning motivation (Wentzel, 1998) and emotional stress (Wentzel, 2009).

Friendship can also lead to negative emotions, such as jealousy (Margalit, 2010), which can occur, for example, when the exclusivity of the friendship is at stake. Adolescent girls, more than boys, report the most friendship jealousy (Parker *et al.*, 2005; Rose and Asher, 2017) and adolescents with low self-worth can experience jealousy acutely (Parker *et al.*, 2005). Girls tend to expect dyadic friendships to be exclusive and not open to others (Parker *et al.*, 2005); since they rely on their close friends for psychological support, much more than boys do, it follows that they experience more upset when the exclusivity of the relationship is threatened (Parker *et al.*, 2005).

Girls' and boys' friendships have different characteristics and components (Brown, 2012). Girls are more focused on friendships than are boys (Douvan, 1983), use their friends as a release for their emotions (Frydenberg, 1997) and share their personal problems more than boys (Youniss and Smollar, 1985). Girls co-ruminate more than boys: discussing and revisiting problems, which can lead to negative feelings (Rose, 2002). While boys do less talking and sharing of emotions with their friends, they can still share their experiences, such as sports and hobbies (Cobb, 2006), and less talking means more time for fun and play (Rose and Asher, 2017), which is important for building social bonds. Boys can use their friendships in a negative way to express aggression, forming gangs to engage in antisocial behaviours (Frydenberg, 1997). Boys are less trusting in friendships than girls (Frydenberg, 1997) but more forgiving (Rose and Asher, 2017). Girls' friendships are more sophisticated than boys' (Douvan, 1983) and are more exclusive (Branje *et al.*, 2007). Girls more than boys overtly try to solve conflicts in close friendships (Youniss and Smollar, 1985) but are more distressed than boys at the threat of a friendship dissolving (Benenson and Christakos, 2003). Girls are more likely to hold a grudge, feeling rejected or disrespected, when a friend reacts in an unacceptable manner (MacEvoy and Asher, 2012).

Rose and Asher (2017) are unusual in pointing out the misguided stereotype that boys are less good with relationships than girls. They say that boys are equally competent or even better friends than girls, in some areas, even though they appear not to have the same degree of social skills as girls: they are less focused on exclusivity and therefore more tolerant when other friends join a group; they are more forgiving when a close friend breaks a core expectation of the friendship; and they are fun to spend time with.

2.4.5 Psychological stress

There can be a range of psychological stresses for pupils moving to a residential school. The section below covers areas some of which may seem obvious, such as homesickness, and some of which may seem more surprising. It also briefly examines how adolescents can cope with such stress.

Homesickness is a very common phenomenon, which can be experienced by anyone, regardless of culture, gender or age (van Tilburg, Vingerhoets and van Heck, 1996; Stroebe *et al.*, 2002). Schaverien (2015, p.164) describes it as “a form of suppressed mourning”; she believes the term is totally inadequate to express the depth of sorrow some children experience when sent away to school. Residential schools have started to talk more openly about homesickness and how to address it, normalizing the experience (such as Cox, 2017; Thomson, 2017). However, not everyone admits to experiencing homesickness. Kiln (2016), for example, found that the six male, former boarders she interviewed all experienced homesickness, some quite severely, yet never told anyone about the emotions they were experiencing at the time.

Some believe that mobile phones, texts and instant messaging are a means of managing separation and transition, as they are an immediate way of contacting someone loved who will willingly demonstrate their love through the communication (Youell, 2006). However, some of the residential adolescent interviewees of Mollart (2013, p.82) felt that calling home, even seeing family members on screen, could not dull the severe pain of homesickness: rather than it being a case of missing a certain person, it is missing the “little bubble you lived in”.

Keeping busy can help to distract pupils from missing home (Fisher, Frazer and Murray, 1986) and schools often have full programmes for their newcomers. Pupils who persistently feel homesick are hindering their social and academic adjustment to the new environment (Fisher, 1991). Homesickness is not limited to the initial period of transition (Mollart, 2013).

Schaverien (2015) suggests that the dining room and the dormitory are the two areas where homesickness is felt the keenest. For example, in the dining room, meals are often served with very little attention paid to the foods individual children like, which is in stark contrast to a family dining atmosphere where an individual's tastes can more easily be catered for: even if the food is good, it is probably different from what is provided at home. This difference is even more significant for overseas students coming from other cultures: even the style of eating can be different. Regarding the child's bedroom in school, some children do not feel secure as it is not the private, safe space which they have at home.

Children may find that a special item brought from home is taken by other children, in an act of thoughtless cruelty (Schaverien, 2015).

Eating disorders can be a cause for concern in adolescents, often exacerbated in the residential setting: the search for the perfect body can lead to anorexia nervosa or bulimia nervosa and failure to attain that end can lead to extreme feelings of shame and disgust (Goldner, Cockell and Srikameswaran, 2002). Most of the research has been concerned with women, but some research into early adolescence has been conducted, mostly concerning girls, but some which included boys as participants (Barker and Bornstein, 2010; Mitchell *et al.*, 2017). Hutchinson, Rapee and Taylor (2010) studied early adolescent Australian girls and found three sociocultural influences on the development of eating disorders: teasing about weight, perceived peer views on thinness and dieting, and eating habits and behaviours of peers. Residential life can be a petra dish for the intensification of such influences. The amount of distress that eating disorders cause for those who suffer and those who care for the sufferers should not be underestimated (Lester, 2015).

Loneliness is another psychological stress in the residential setting: being surrounded by peers does not preclude loneliness. Since social relationships are so important during early adolescence, the lack of friends and consequent loneliness can cause stress, in addition to being a predictor of depression and self-reported poor health later in life (Goosby *et al.*, 2013), and a predictor of future relationship troubles (Margalit, 2010). It is the quality of and satisfaction with social relationships, not just the number of social contacts, which can define whether one is lonely or not (Einav *et al.*, 2015). Loneliness makes people feel emotionally empty, with a sense of longing, and ultimately unhappy (Asher and Paquette, 2003). The experience of loneliness can start in the home, with parents who are emotionally detached or unable to understand their children (Margalit, 2010). Good friends are “an inoculation against loneliness” (Margalit, 2010, p.141). In the study of Şahin and Adana (2016), Turkish boys reported being more lonely than Turkish girls, but Demir and Tarhan (2001) found no difference in the level of loneliness in Turkish adolescents according to gender. Demir and Tarhan (2001) found that adolescents who are disliked and/or rejected by their peers have high levels of loneliness. Uruk and Demir (2003) also found a strong link between poor peer relations and loneliness in their Turkish adolescent sample.

The Turkish adolescents in Karababa and Dilmaç's (2016) study were more likely to experience loneliness when they had critical parents, or when they themselves were anxious, moody or socially awkward. Margalit (2010) argued that when individuals are socially awkward and lonely, they do not have the opportunity to develop the necessary social skills.

Many social contacts are now virtual. There are some who believe that such Internet use enhances social interactions (Amichai-Hamburger and Hayat, 2011) and improves a sense of psychological well-being (such as Whitty and McLaughlin, 2007) but I agree with others (such as Gross, 2004; Margalit, 2010) that it can increase a sense of separateness. Furthermore, it can have a negative effect on adolescents who can see that everyone else is having a much better time than they are having, and therefore increases the sense of being alone.

There is a loss of love when moving to a residential school. Partridge (2007, p.311) refers to his boarding school as "an emotional desert". For many children, some as young as 7 or 8, moving to a residential school and being left with strangers, no matter how kind and well-intentioned they are, means that this may be their first time without intimacy or love (Schaverien, 2011a). Staff are there to care for the children, but the care received should not be confused with love. In addition, pupils will not receive the kind of regular, physical contact which parents give, indicative of love, such as a good-night kiss or cuddles. One verse of Hugh Lewin's poem about his imprisonment in South Africa resonates with the similar lack of opportunity for loving contact in residential schools:

When I get out
I'm going to ask someone
 to touch me
 very gently please
 and slowly,
 touch me
I want to learn again
 how life feels.

(in Feinberg, ed., 1980, p.84)

The lack of intimacy with adults means that pupils often turn to older pupils for close relationships (Schaverien, 2015).

The pattern of leaving home at the end of holidays and moving back to school means the repetition of bonding and separation processes, discouraging the sustainability of close relationships (Duffell, 2000). Youell (2006) suggests that separation and loss are essential experiences for the development of internal strength; however, not all children have the same emotional tool kit for dealing with this repeated separation and loss.

Pupils have to try to cope with such psychological stresses. Coping is defined by Frydenberg (1997, p.25) as “the responses (thoughts, feelings and actions) that an individual uses to deal with problematic situations that are encountered in everyday life and in particular circumstances...” Research into how adolescents cope is almost exclusively done through self-reporting questionnaires (such as Frydenberg and Lewis, 1993; Martin, 2013; Ardic and Esin, 2016; Kriston and Piko, 2017). Frydenberg (1997) reports that many studies found that adolescent boys and girls have different coping behaviours; for example, boys are less likely to admit when they cannot cope. Girls more than boys turn to others for support to help cope with stress (for example, Eschenbeck *et al.*, 2012; Cavanaugh *et al.*, 2017). Girls more than boys use problem-solving coping strategies (Jose and Kilburg III, 2007). Turkish boys more than girls use physical activity as a coping mechanism (Ardic and Esin, 2016). Frydenberg and Lewis (1993) found that boys and girls almost equally attempted to solve their problems, just by different means.

Turkish adolescent boys, much more than girls, use avoidance as a coping style (Öngen, 2006; Eschenbeck *et al.*, 2012), and this is in line with adolescents around the world (Persike and Seiffge-Krenke, 2016). Looking at Turkish adolescents' use of electronic media as avoidance, we see that boys more than girls turn to this (Eschenbeck *et al.*, 2012). Playing computer games is the most popular use of computers across cultures and academic ability ranges (Margalit, 2010). Using electronic media, especially playing computer games, is the main way that Turkish adolescent boys procrastinate in relation to their academic work, especially putting off writing assignments, according to Klassen and Kuzucu's (2009) study; 40% of their participants said they procrastinated for 3 hours or more in any given day.

Schaverien (2011b, p.149) accepts there are educational advantages attainable by attending residential schools but she suggests that “the benefits need to be weighed against the long-term psychological damage brought about by the losses involved”. She is largely referring to pupils who move to residential schools as young as the age of seven. However, there are losses for children of all ages who go to residential schools.

2.5 Summary

This review attempted to trawl and filter relevant literature to support an investigation into early adolescent pupils’ experiences transitioning to a residential high school. As much as possible, experiences of Turkish pupils and reference to Turkish practices were incorporated, so that the context of the study can be illuminated. Whilst research into some areas covered here is rich and supportive of pupils’ development, the lack of research into boarding schools, their practices and their products, namely the children in their care, is disconcerting. These pupils deserve a more intentional, pragmatic and research-based intervention. Sensitive, independent research is needed, not market-driven research, so that the actual experiences of the children are ascertained, and policies and practices adjusted accordingly.

3. Methodology

3.1 Purpose of this inquiry

The purpose of this inquiry is two-fold: firstly, to identify common themes in the experiences of 34 pupils new to a residential high school; and secondly, to learn about the individual experiences of six pupils in more depth. Thus, in addition to qualitative thematic analysis of writings from all pupils to identify common themes, there are also six individual cases studied. I illustrate discoveries through the pupils' own words: the rich descriptions of their experiences enabled me to see into how they interpreted their worlds (Bogdan and Biklen, 2003). In order to learn about the transition, it was essential to involve those experiencing that transition; educational research about pupils must directly reflect the voices of the pupils (Dockett, Perry and Kearney, 2013).

3.2 Choice of paradigm and method

This piece of educational research has been undertaken to try and discover what it is like to leave home and family at the age of 13 or 14, move to a different city, to live and study in a highly competitive school. I am concerned with "the subjective experience of individuals" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p.6) and will therefore be developing a mainly idiographic methodology. Emphasis on the uniqueness of the situation and rich, descriptive data to be gathered from subjective viewpoints means that an interpretive paradigm has been adopted, acknowledging that there will be multiple versions of truth, complexity, interconnectedness and depth.

Even though I am primarily interested in how my participants view their own experiences of transition, I am concerned also with "the big picture", how their views fit together. I have taken a qualitative epistemological approach, since qualitative research exists in order "to understand human behavior, the context in which it occurs, and the meanings that people ascribe to specific situations" (Lopez *et al.*, 2008, p.1729). Qualitative research is often engaged with topics which are humdrum and commonplace (Silverman, 2013); in this instance, I argue

that the participants' experiences are far from humdrum and commonplace, really rather special.

Attaching a neat, descriptive label to qualitative data analysis may be desirable, but is rarely possible (Rapley, 2011). Such is the case for this study. Thematic analysis is used as a tool for mining deep meanings from raw data, influenced by phenomenology which deals with matters which cannot be defined purely by facts (Giorgi, 2008), and where the researcher makes a conscious attempt to adopt a naïve and fresh approach to the topic, unencumbered by previous experience and knowledge (Lemon and Taylor, 1997). Phenomenology does not deal with the causes of a situation but rather seeks to illuminate the experience, from the point of view of those directly involved (Denscombe, 2014). A phenomenological approach is appropriate for accessing the lived experience of the individuals (Creswell, 1998): the pupils are the owners of and experts in their experiences, and share their accounts openly, both in writing and orally. The study brings both an educational and a psychological aspect to this phenomenological approach, since it is a school setting where the emotions of the pupils are unearthed.

3.3 Case study

According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011, p.289), “a case study provides a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply by presenting them with abstract theories or principles”. The focus of this case study is the 34 pupils who joined the school as residential pupils at the age of 13 or 14. This is a descriptive study, presenting “a complete description of a phenomenon within its context” (Yin, 2003, p.5). The aim is to study the pupils' transition in depth, from their perspective, accepting that such an examination will be complex, something which is a characteristic of the case study method (Punch and Oanacea, 2014). While case studies may be used to test hypotheses or to explore theories, they are most effective for adding to knowledge about human experience and the understanding of that experience (Stake, 2000), which is the case for this research.

Case studies require the collection of multiple types of evidence (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 2006), which support triangulation. My strategies and tools for data collection

are mainly qualitative: written responses from the pupils, interviews and observations. Some quantitative evidence is utilized, such as test results, grades and other school-generated documentation.

A common criticism of the case study method is that its results cannot be generalizable, although Mishler (1979) suggests that looking for generalizability is misguided. This case study is somewhat different as I have moulded the study to the uniqueness of the specific context (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2014) and to my original purposes; in addition to the primary phenomenological perspective of lived experience of these individuals, each with a situation which must be recognized for its particularity, some common themes have been identified, to inform those working in similar areas, with high-performing adolescents moving to a residential school.

3.4 Personal context

Qualitative research requires that the researcher be an essential part of the study, someone who “actively constructs the collection, selection and interpretation of data” (Finlay, 2003, p.5). Some level of subjectivity is inevitable; indeed, as Clough and Nutbrown (2012) suggest, the researcher’s identity heavily influences the methodology. I accept that I was neither a passive nor an impartial researcher but I cultivated a “hermeneutical consciousness” (Nguyen, 2008, p.486), trying to keep in mind my predisposition and my prejudices when interpreting the data. My goal was what Gadamer (1975) referred to as a “fusion of horizons”, where my horizon joined with the horizons of my participants’ to facilitate understanding of their experience. Inevitably, my horizon changed according to what I learned from my participants. I acknowledge that my “location within the social world” (Temple and Young, 2004, p.164) influenced my perspective and that my approach cannot be totally value-free (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). As the person directly responsible for the participants living at the school, my bias was clear; the participants knew me in “multiple roles” (Morrow, 1999), including as the person in charge of residential life, their music teacher, their dean in charge of discipline, sometimes someone to share experiences with, sometimes an adviser. I wrestled with these different roles, as other authors have (see, for example, Finlay, 2003), trying to stay true to each one. Even when trying to remain neutral, it should be

remembered that “ ‘neutral’ is a very studied performance” (Watson, 2006); actually, I was acting throughout the process, trying to take on another identity as researcher, unlike the usual identity the pupils associated with me. Often, I could not help myself react to something shared with me, whether written or spoken; indeed, I suggest that during the interviews, my reactions and gestures of encouragement eased the fluidity of the interaction. My passion for the research area greatly informed the plan for the research process (Moustakas, 1990) and I hope I have been able to achieve “an advocacy for those things we cherish” (Stake, 1995, p.136).

Powell *et al.* (2012) recognize that the biggest ethical challenges in research involving children revolve around power inequalities. This was a serious issue for me: both my power as the researcher, and my position of authority in Forrest School. This conflict is quite a common situation for researchers who work in schools (Powell *et al.*, 2012), and some authors (for example, Bogdan and Biklen, 2003) advise against conducting research in a school where the researcher is in a position of power. My focus on reflexivity, turning “a critical gaze” and self-awareness concerning this dilemma of power differential aided the decisions I made, from the planning stage right the way through all aspects of the research, data analysis, discussion and conclusions. Pragmatically, as much as possible, I attempted to neutralize my role in the school when gathering data. Each time, I spoke Turkish to the pupils; in my regular role, I only ever speak English with them. Each time, I dressed very casually, unlike my formal school clothes. Each time, I reminded them that I was there as a researcher not their dean. I was endeavouring to reduce “undue influence” (Appelbaum, 2015, p.110). However, I acknowledge, as Lapadat (2000, p.209) rightly states, that “people do not talk in a vacuum; rather, they talk with particular people in particular places under particular circumstances”. Thus, the pupils’ “talk” must always have taken into account my position of power within Forrest School, no matter how much I tried to discourage such a disposition. In addition to my school position, my role as researcher was a role of power. For example, in the open-ended interviews, it was my decision which aspect of the pupils’ answers to pursue with follow-on questions (Rapley, 2001).

3.5 The school

Forrest School is a long-standing, bilingual, co-educational, private high school in Istanbul. It is widely considered to be the most prestigious private school in Turkey and it is the school to which many middle school pupils aspire for their high school education. Entrance to the school is strictly restricted by the Turkish Ministry of Education (MEB) to pupils who take Turkey's national 8th grade examinations: the *Temel Eğitimden Ortaöğretime Geçiş* (TEOG) examinations. Only pupils with the highest points on these examinations have the opportunity to enter Forrest School. Entrance is based on their proficiency in mathematics, science, social studies (but not Religion) and Turkish. There is no interview, no consideration of special talents, no test of English proficiency, no assessment of suitability for the school or for residential life: the only criterion is the points attained on these national exams. Everyone entering the school is academically very successful.

Pupils enter into a one year English preparatory programme (Prep), with subjects mainly taught in English, as well as the MEB-mandated Turkish lessons and second foreign language lessons. Subsequently, pupils are launched into a four-year bilingual curriculum before moving on to university; 100% of the pupils go on to university, either in Turkey or abroad, attending some of the best quality universities, often rewarded with scholarship funding.

In addition to strong academics, Forrest School is noted for its broad and multi-faceted, co-curricular programme; its large, well-tended campus and outstanding facilities; and its strong and influential alumni body. It has a means-tested scholarship programme from which approximately 24% of the pupils benefit.

3.6 The school's residential programme

Forrest School's residential programme is only available to pupils whose home is outside Istanbul, because of the limited number of spaces: it can accommodate 100 boys and 85 girls. Eighteen percent of Forrest School pupils live in the residential facility and approximately 50% of these pupils have been granted a means-tested scholarship. Each year, the demand for residential space exceeds

the number of spaces available. Pupils can choose to be 7-day residential, living on campus at the weekends as well as during the week; or 5-day residential, leaving each Friday evening and returning on Sunday evening. In general, pupils whose hometown is within 2-3 hours road distance from Istanbul tend to be 5-day pupils.

There are two residences, one for boys and one for girls. Each residence is staffed by two teachers and three or four Residential Advisers, who are university students, usually ex-Forrest School residential pupils. They all live within the residence. Pupils stay in rooms with others from their grade level; while there are a few smaller rooms, most rooms are for four or five pupils, with one room for six boys. There are communal bathroom facilities, communal lounges with recreation opportunities, computer and printing facilities, and silent study areas.

All meals are provided in the central cafeteria, with snacks provided each evening in the residential lounges. Pupils must do their own washing and ironing, so washers, driers, irons and ironing boards are provided. There is a wide range of residential life activities on offer, some mandatory such as the 7-day Prep weekend daytime trips to help acclimatize them to Istanbul and to create bonding opportunities; some are voluntary off campus activities, such as football matches, concerts and plays. Pupils are able to go off campus in their free time, returning before the curfew of 8pm.

3.7 The participants

The participants in this study were all 34 pupils new to residential life at Forrest School: 18 girls and 16 boys, aged 13 or 14 (Appendix A). As the map of their origin shows (Appendix B), many were the only ones from their hometown moving to Forrest School; even where two or three pupils were from the same city, the likelihood of them knowing each other before the move was slim. They were 34 strangers, thrown together because of their top scores in the TEOG examinations. Twenty-four of them were 7-day residential pupils; the other 10 were 5-day residential. Half of the pupils were on means-tested scholarship.

There was no remuneration for participating in this research, other than occasional food treats provided as a token of my appreciation for the time they gave up and emotional energy they expended. After the second interview, I gave each pupil interviewed an inscribed English novel.

All Forrest School new pupils are tested on campus for listening and reading comprehension skills before the start of the school year, using the English Language Test for International Students (ELTiS). This is a standardized test designed to indicate proficiency levels in listening and reading comprehension for high school pupils planning to be instructed in the medium of English (Ballard and Tighe, 2013). There are five proficiency levels, ranging from 1 to 5; the pupils' ELTiS score and proficiency level can be viewed in Appendix A. While this is not a comprehensive assessment of all English language skills, it does give some indication of the level of English when the pupils entered the school.

For many, their level of English was clearly an issue at the outset; even at the end of their first year at Forrest School, it could still not be said that all were able to express themselves fluently in English, either in writing or orally. There were many English "mistakes" made by pupils during the research. These "mistakes" have not been corrected when the pupils' words are quoted in the following chapters, as they add to the character of the study, and demonstrate the courage which the pupils showed in being so willing to take the risk of trying to express themselves in English.

3.8 Collection of data

There were four types of data which were collected and analysed: Written Responses (WRs), face-to-face interviews, observations of the participants, and school documentation. In phase one of the research, the WRs were used for general deductions on the residential life experience, in addition to screening for the choice of the interviewees. Phase two, the interviews, addressed the case studies of six individuals' experiences. Interviews were the ideal way to follow up on the WRs, especially since I was investigating pupils' individual responses to transition, and since I had a personal relationship with them. A positive relationship between a researcher and those being researched is of paramount

importance, for the building of trust (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2011). My observation of the pupils was on-going throughout the year of data collection.

It was very important for me that the pupils gave their own interpretation of their experiences of transition. The initial dilemma was how to gather their words, without putting my words, my hypothesized interpretation, into their mouths. Many researchers have successfully used diaries as the means of gathering adolescent participant thoughts, behaviours, experiences or actions, whether writing by hand (see, for example, Shek and Sun, 2013; Short *et al.*, 2013; Hiller *et al.*, 2014) or using a digital diary format (see, for example, Cleveland and Groenendyk, 2010 using palm-held devices; Smetana *et al.*, 2010 for online diaries; Staiano, Baker and Calvert, 2012 for digital photographic diaries). Since Forrest School is a 1-to-1 laptop school, I considered asking the pupils to write online journals. However, I anticipated certain problems: left to their own, the participation rate could prove to be low, with uneven participation. In addition, if pupils wrote journals, whether online or in hard copy format, even regularly, each pupil would be writing about what concerned or interested him/her at that particular time and it could be difficult to piece together a general picture. Some topics I would want to investigate might never crop up. There would also be the possibility of pupils talking about what they were writing when I wanted individuals' pure perspectives, untouched by the ideas of others.

3.8.1 Written Responses (WR)

The solution to the dilemma of the format for collecting the pupils' descriptions of their experiences was the creation of what I have called Written Responses (WRs): questions or prompts on a piece of paper, distributed, responded to and collected in my presence, in a controlled environment. There were nine WRs in total. To some extent, they resemble questionnaires: the wording of each had to be precise and specific, easy to complete, with clear directions and encouraging of honest responses (Cox and Cox, 2008). However, the majority of WRs were open-ended, with paragraph answers being more typical than one-word or even one-sentence answers. They were not anonymous: since I wanted to track each pupil's development, pupils were asked to write their names on their responses. A bilingual assistant word-processed the hand-written WR documents and I re-read

and cross-checked the hand-written pupil responses and the electronic versions to ensure accuracy.

The weekly repetition of completing the WRs had the potential to become a chore for the pupils so I desired to create variety in their format, in the hope that each one being different from the previous one would make the task less monotonous and more enjoyable; creativity, after all, is an important researcher skill (Wellington, 2015). Some WRs were open-ended, such as WR5 which only had a single question. In contrast, WR6 was asking for statistics, and one word answers. Sentence-completion, something which is commonly used in psychology for personality assessment (Holaday, Smith and Sherry 2000), was another attempt to vary the format of the exercise in WR8, yet still result in meaningful responses.

I decided to meet the pupils altogether, once a week during their one-hour, silent study period 8-9pm to gather responses to specific stimuli. This usually took place in their regular study hall classroom. Each time, I assured them that what they wrote would not be shared with anyone in school, unless I was concerned for a pupil's welfare, in which case I would talk about the matter with their school psychological counsellor. The study hall period is a silent time so pupils did not have the chance to confer on their answers.

I was aware that by using their study hall time, I was taking away from their study time. However, the WRs were designed to be completed in less than 15 minutes. Occasionally, a pupil chose to take longer than that, maybe elaborating at length about one of the stated topics. The papers were distributed at the start of the hour and collected at the end of the study hall. Occasionally, pupils chose to hand in blank papers, which they knew was acceptable. The response rate was 98%, outlined in Appendix C.

The prompts and questions for each WR were devised after synthesizing the literature trawled the year prior to the study and combining with my 12 years of residential life experience at the school. The general topics addressed in each WR can be seen in Table 1; the actual WRs can be seen in their entirety, in Appendix D. Starting in their first week of school, the WRs were completed approximately one week apart, except for WR9, which was completed at the end of the academic year, just over a week before they were going home for the

summer holiday. Having a WR at the end of the year contributed to the longitudinal nature of this study.

Table 1: Topics for each Written Response	
WR1	General feelings about being at Forrest School, and prediction of friends
WR2	Current feelings and self-description
WR3	Reaction to going home for the <i>bayram</i> and returning to the residence
WR4	Adjustment to Forrest School
WR5	Awareness of change in themselves
WR6	Mobile phone and laptop use
WR7	Anticipation of next visit home
WR8	Sentence completion activity
WR9	Review of the year

Having an “Any other comments” section at the end of each WR was a well-used opportunity for pupils to share anything else they wanted, either concerning the subjects asked about in that particular WR, or about any other matter. In WR6, for example, Mehmet made a comment not directly related with the topic of WR6: he wrote that he was missing his family desperately.

The first seven WRs were bilingual, Turkish and English, with pupils having the choice of response language. WR8 was a sentence completion exercise in English which would be clumsy if translated into Turkish because of the different way sentences are structured. Distributed in week 8 at Forrest School, having analysed the previous WRs from a language perspective, and as a participant observer of the pupils’ daily English language use, I felt that completing the task in English would not be an insurmountable challenge. WR9 was at the end of the academic year and so English-only was appropriate. The pupils sometimes made mistakes when writing in English, but for me, that adds to the colour of their responses. The WRs were analysed in the language which the pupils used, and later relevant sections of the Turkish WRs were translated after the coding process; keeping the original language for as long as possible helped to ensure data validity (Twinn, 1997) and reduce bias (Lopez *et al.*, 2008).

3.8.2 Involvement of the psychological counsellor

Each time before distributing the WR, I gave instructions in Turkish to the pupils and reminded them that if I was concerned about the welfare of any pupil, that I would be speaking to the psychological counsellor. Thus, there was awareness that confidentiality could be broken if necessitated (Gallagher *et al.*, 2010). I read the pupils' responses within 24 hours and there were times when I had to alert the counsellor to something which a pupil had shared. This sharing of potentially worrying information felt like a safety net: for the pupils, since the counsellor was very experienced; and also for me, so that I wasn't holding alone some knowledge about a pupil's distress.

3.8.3 Purpose of the WR data

It became clear quite early in the process that the richness of data coming out of the WRs was too significant to merely be used to inform a decision on who to choose to be interviewed in phase two of the research, as was the original intention. I decided to code all 297 WRs and to pull out general themes related to their experiences of transition to Forrest School, as well as highlight some anomalies. After all, as Alasuutar (1995, p.138) stated, "the discovery of inconsistencies within the data will also point to some useful why-questions". The problem of the rich data made it difficult to choose who to carry forward into the second phase of the research.

3.8.4 Who to interview?

So many pupils shared their experiences so willingly and so vividly in the WRs that deciding on who to continue with for phase two of interviewing was a challenge. Indeed, it is safe to say that the majority of the pupils would have given rich descriptions in interviews, just as they did in the WRs.

From the outset of this study's planning, I had decided to choose six pupils: some 5-day and some 7-day pupils, some scholarship and some full payment pupils, male and female. I wanted a range of pupils, not following the "typical case" concept which some researchers favour (Bogdan and Biklen, 2003). However, in

retrospect, I can say that all 34 pupils constituted a range of pupils since they were all so different. Pragmatically, six pupils seemed a sufficient number to give different perspectives on transition, and manageable for me in terms of time available to treat the material thoroughly.

The six pupils I chose were some of those with whom I had a very positive relationship in my everyday interactions with them. I felt that they trusted me and I anticipated they would be open to my questions, as they had been in the WR phase. My daily observations of them confirmed this feeling, as they all came to me in my school role for support on various occasions. I chose these pupils to interview as they were very different from each other, and I wanted a balance of backgrounds and experiences:

- Alev: a 7-day residential girl, on partial scholarship, sincere, hard-working, emotional;
- Emre: a 5-day residential boy, full fee-paying, immature, physical symptoms of stress, struggling academically;
- Ebru: a 7-day residential girl, on full scholarship, unhappy with her new life, awkward and alone;
- Mehmet: a 7-day residential boy, on full scholarship, missing his family desperately, weak English, shy but popular;
- Melis: a 7-day residential girl, on partial scholarship, with divorced parents and minimal contact with her father, close attachment to her mother, extraordinarily ambitious, stressed;
- Nesrin: a 5-day residential girl, full fee-paying, an only child, relaxed, indulged by her parents, low grades.

All of them have some kind of an issue, but that is the case for most of the 34 pupils, since they are all individuals with individual concerns and worries. I am indebted to them all for their unadulterated, heartfelt contributions to this research.

3.8.5 Interviews

Interviews are experienced by many, are widely known of, yet can be mysterious once the door of the interview room is closed, all of which resemble marriage,

according to Oakley (1981). Interviews are one of the most effective means of understanding the experience of others (Punch and Oancea, 2014). They concern the collaborative and dynamic inter-relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995; Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2005; Watson, 2006) enabling “co-production of knowledge” (Solberg, 2014). It is often a mistake researchers make to miss the importance of interactivity when analysing interview-generated data (Potter and Hepburn, 2005). The interviews in this study were open-ended and semi-structured, giving me both control and flexibility (Charmaz and Belgrave, 2012).

The open-ended interviews were designed to look at individual experiences of transition in more depth. There were two sets of interviews, six pupils being interviewed twice: the first half way through the academic year, on their return from the mid-year holiday; and the second, in their last week of the academic year. Initially, I had only planned for the one set of interviews half way through the year; later, I thought that a second set, after my informal observations of them during the second term, would provide more information, either to confirm, enhance or repute my findings, as well as lead to a summation of the study. This second set of interviews was especially effective in contributing to the longitudinal aspect, since the research continued for an entire academic year.

A general script of questions (Appendix E) was prepared for each set of interviews, which I adapted to each pupil, to make the process more personal, something which Dilley advises (2000), such as referring to something which the pupil had written in a WR. As Dilley (2000, p.133) states, it is the script which is “a guide to the journey we want our respondents to take”, and a poor script will result in an unsatisfactory journey, where the destination is not reached. The duration of the interviews can be seen in Appendix F.

The pupils chose the dates and times which were suitable for them. I wanted the location to be private and an emotionally safe space (Powell *et al.*, 2012), comfortable, and not somewhere they normally saw me, so I used a counsellor’s office. “Interviews are inherently social encounters” (Rapley, 2011, p.303), so I provided tea, soft drinks and snacks to try and create a relaxed occasion.

Some scholars suggest that qualitative interviewing in the participants' native language is essential for them to be able to express themselves freely about their lived experience (Twinn, 1997; Littig and Pochhacker, 2014). Another advantage, according to Chen (2011), is that pupils would be in a powerful position over me, the non-native speaker, thereby reversing the more normal position of interviews where the interviewer holds more power. However, all pupils chose to speak in English, although sometimes we would use Turkish words just to clarify meanings. I do not believe that their choice had anything to do with "issues of language power" (Temple and Young, 2004, p.163), rather their willingness to try to speak in English, and politeness to me. Had they chosen Turkish, I planned to transcribe in Turkish and then backwards translate (Brislin, 1970). If a bilingual outsider had conducted the interview and had given them the same choice of language, I predict that most would have chosen Turkish. This probably would have resulted in some pupils being able to communicate their thoughts more clearly, following Vygotsky's (2012) view of the intertwining of thought and language. However, I was relieved that they chose the medium of English as I would have been unable to ask such detailed follow-up questions in Turkish.

All pupils gave permission for me to record the interviews and I used QuickTime Player on my MacBook laptop, which produced a high quality recording for transcription; one of the major challenges for transcribing interviews is the quality of the recording (Poland, 2001) but there was no such challenge in this case. Having a video recording would have allowed me to add more non-verbal clues to the transcription, but I was concerned that a video camera might render the pupils more nervous. Open laptops are an everyday sight at Forrest School so the digital audio recording did not appear to unsettle them; no one made reference to the recording process during the interviews. All pupils were invited to email me after the interview if they remembered something later which they thought would be of interest.

3.8.6 Reflections on the interview process

Were the pupils totally honest with me? Douglas (1976) suggests that interviewees often steer away from the whole truth when something is really important to them, or give what they think is the right answer (O'Kane, 2000). It is

probable that the pupils wanted me to think well of them, unable to divorce me from my official school role, and so could have been selective in how they answered my questions. Walford (2001) would question why any interviewee would share very personal matters, especially if they could appear in an unfavorable light; but I did have pupils who shared very personal details in the interviews. I showed empathy, sensitivity and understanding to their situations, often conveying through my words or non-verbal clues that I was supporting them, something which aids the flow of interviews (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). For most of the interviewees, there was an element of catharsis and liberation (Watson, 2006) and I hope some sense-making out of them sharing sensitive, personal information (Bourne and Robson, 2015).

Interviews do allow the interviewees to put forward their ideas and opinions, which is a form of empowerment (Wellington, 2015); they knew that one sincere purpose of the interviews was to gather information to lead to a better experience for residential pupils new to Forrest School. At times, it was a fine line to walk when they were talking openly about upsetting matters but I shared Solberg's (2014) view that careful listening and appropriate response to the young interviewee can result in an opportunity for them to understand better what they have experienced. It was my task to create the safe space for the interviewees to talk freely, for them to feel it as a positive experience (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009), for these adolescents to have the opportunity of sharing what concerned them (Frydenberg, 1997), and to react appropriately when the sharing experience became stressful or disturbing (British Educational Research Association, 2011).

3.8.7 Transcription

As Lapadat (2000, p.204) states, "verbatim transcription serves the purpose of taking speech, which is fleeting, aural, performative, and heavily contextualized within its situational and social context of use, and freezing it into a static, permanent, and manipulable form". This implies that the quality of transcription has serious consequences for reliability and dependability in research which includes the spoken word (Perakyla, 1997), in this case, interviews. Yet often, qualitative methodologies imply that transcription is clear-cut (Lapadat, 2000; Ross, 2010), and pay scant attention to this essential component of the research

(Lapadat, 2000), the exception being studies concerning conversation analysis (Poland, 2001). The way the spoken word is transcribed can have a major influence on a study's results and implications (Lapadat, 2000; Poland, 2001; MacLean, Meyer and Estable, 2004) and decisions made about what to transcribe reflect on the power of the researcher (Ross, 2010). Watson (2006) compares the relationship of interview and transcript to the relationship between a plum and a prune; each are equally valid and directly related to each other, and the reconstituted prune, while not replicating the plum, clearly resembles and reflects on its origin.

Throughout the transcription process, I was mindful of potential issues which could jeopardise the results (Lapadat, 2000) and I aimed to be transparent in reporting the process (Skukauskaitė, 2012). I allowed ample time between interviews and transcription to ensure a fresh and reflexive approach to the task, something which Chen (2011) suggests, unlike Gillham (2000) who believes that transcription should start as soon as possible after the interviews.

There is not one single type of transcription method (Lapadat, 2000; Skukauskaitė, 2012), since researchers have different purposes. The purpose of the transcripts in this study was to demonstrate mainly what was said, to a lesser extent how it was said; since conversation analysis was not a feature of the study, Jeffersonian transcription was not adopted. However, the transcripts do include references to laughter and pauses, and capitalization refers to emphasis in the tone of voice. I did not want transcription details to detract from the flow of the script (Potter and Hepburn, 2005), so I developed my own style of transcription, which I trust is sufficient to allow any reader to grasp a sense of the mood of the interaction. In addition, the notes taken in my research journal after each interview helped to remind me of situational and contextual references, when transcribing and subsequently analysing the interviews.

Since the interviews were all conducted in English, with only occasional lapses into Turkish phrases or single words, I transcribed them myself from the digital audio files, as I recognized the benefits to come from such an investment of time (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Watson, 2006). I disagree with Walford (2001) and Wellington (2015) who do not believe it necessary to transcribe all of the interviews fully, as I wanted to have rich data to work with. Although I received no

transcription training, something which Perakyla (1997) believes to be essential, I had what I consider to be an appropriate disposition to transcribe these interviews, namely: a direct and deep understanding of the context; many years of expertise in working with fledgling, non-native speakers of English, specifically Turks; total ownership of and commitment to the process; and a personal relationship with the interviewees, who had already shown that they trusted me. Thus, many of the challenges facing transcribers (Poland, 2001) did not face me. Transcribing the interviews myself enabled my immersion in the raw data (Wengraf, 2001), leading to extreme familiarity (Lapadat, 2000); allowed me to process my feelings during the interview process (Matheson, 2007); facilitated a different relationship with my raw data (Watson, 2006); and helped to relive what, for me, was an exciting part of the research process. A neutral transcriber, even an experienced one, can miss out on details and insights which only the researcher can grasp and which ultimately aid the analysis (Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999).

It was a deliberate choice not to give the pupils the transcriptions to read, to verify or amend what they had said, something which some scholars advocate (Lapadat, 2000; Poland 2001). Knowing them well, I predicted that they would focus on their language skills and inevitably be disappointed in their grammatical and lexicological mistakes, which were transcribed as spoken, not corrected, in the transcripts. I did not want them to be disappointed in themselves.

3.8.8 Observations of the pupils

My observations of the pupils were sometimes direct observations, and sometimes participant observations. I was fortunate to be able to have free rein to observe the pupils throughout the year, both in and out of the classroom. I observed all the pupils in their English classes, as well as teaching all the pupils in my Creative Arts Music classes. Every Monday morning and every Friday afternoon, I observed them in their flag ceremony, and my weekly lunch duty in the cafeteria gave me another opportunity to see who was sitting with whom, and who was eating what. I was a regular proctor of the evening study hall period and would walk around to see what and how they were studying. Occasionally, some pupils would come to me for disciplinary infractions, such as the time three boys

played a trick on the nurse in the Health Center. I often accompanied the 7-day pupils on their Saturday morning outing to help them orientate to the city; it was painful to observe how Ebru was consistently alone, whereas all the others were in small groups.

I met all parents and most of the pupils when they registered at the school, approximately two months before the opening of school. Those initial informal interviews were telling. Nuri's father, for example, was anxious to be certain that Nuri would be able to stay seven days a week, that he wouldn't have to return home at the weekend; usually, parents have the opposite concern as they want their child home at the weekend. The ecstasy of Alev's father when he learned that he had a scholarship for his daughter and that she had a place in the residence brought tears to my eyes: an Anatolian man who saw that his daughter's future was about to change so significantly.

Their psychological counsellor shared her observations with me during our regular meetings. Aysel, Emre and Alev were regular visitors to her room, for example. The counsellor was very professional and never broke any of the pupils' confidence, but we were able to share our observations so as to support each other in our work. She updated me on her communication with families, as the family's approach to the separation often had an effect on the child.

Teachers and residential staff often shared their observations with me too, either face-to-face or by email. At the start of December, Leyla, for example, confided in one of her teachers how upset she was about the death of an older residential girl's mother from the same hometown; this had made her think about her own mother, far away from her. As is the practice at Forrest School, the teacher shared this important information with Leyla's counsellor and with me. Sometimes teachers shared pupil work which confirmed their observation; Rüya wrote a powerful essay for her English teacher, explaining how poetry helped to rescue her from the sense of isolation she felt when she first moved into the residence, leaving behind her family.

All observation notes were recorded either while the observation was taking place by hand or digitally, through emails, or afterwards as reflections in my research journal. Many of the observations were confirmed by facts from school

documentation. Observations often tell us “what” but we need to understand “why” (Alasuutar, 1995); the “why” was often discovered through the WRs and interviews.

3.8.9 School documentation

I analysed a range of documentation required by Forrest School, to ascertain facts which could be used to further illustrate the lived experience of transition for the pupils, or to triangulate with other data. Before any pupil can start the school, certain forms have to be completed by the parents which were useful sources of data for me: a psychological counselling information sheet; a health form; and family information sheet. Residential pupils, not their parents, had to complete a “Pupil Profile”, which includes introducing themselves to the residential staff, explaining their preferences (window open or shut at night, for example), outlining their hobbies and involvement in sports, their previous experience of staying away from their family, and ambitions for the future.

During the year, teachers gave input into all pupils’ academic progress reports sent to parents at the end of November and the start of April, and the Ministry of Education’s mandatory report cards were sent out at the end of each term. Daily Health Center reports showed who had visited the Health Center for what reason; similarly, the Counselling Department’s daily reports showed who had been there during class time. Such factual, quantitative information was in stark contrast to the vivid, qualitative descriptions provided by the pupils. The careful fusion of such data proved to be illuminating for learning about the experience of transition to Forrest School.

3.8.10 Relationship between the 4 data collection methods

An examination of school documentation, analysis of my observations and detailed review of the WRs all contributed to the decisions which were made about which pupils to interview. The rich data from the WRs were, by far, the most influential in this respect: school documentation and observations tended to confirm the data from the WRs, and later from the interviews, and constituted a form of triangulation. That being said, all 3 of these initial data collection methods were used in personalising the interview scripts: for example, a detail noticed in a

lesson observation, a teacher comment on a progress report, or an end-of semester grade on a report card all were ways of accessing a topic for discussion with a particular pupil. The WR9 was completed a few days prior to the second set of interviews and was particularly useful in this access issue: Melis, for example, had just rated residential life with a minus 3, so making reference to that grade was a way of leading into the question “What has been the most distressing/upsetting issue since you moved to FS?” Clearly, such a negative grade suggested that she had experienced distressing and upsetting situations related with residential life. Such references to their personal responses also facilitated the realisation that I had taken notice of and valued their comments and opinions, and thus reinforced the trust which had been built.

3.9 Data analysis process

Data analysis started as soon as I had data available to examine, following the advice of many authors (such as Silverman, 2013; Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2014), with multiple detailed readings. From the moment I first met the parents and the pupils, before the opening of school, I was examining documents, reflecting on conversations, observations and my engagement with the data, and identifying tentative themes in an on-going fashion. A preliminary pen and paper analysis of the WRs straight after they were completed enabled me to prepare for the following week’s WR, either the format or the content, to follow up on something hinted at previously, or to take a different turn, if it seemed necessary, all of which follows the advice of Rapley (2011). Transcription and analysis of the interviews did not happen immediately after the actual interviews as I wanted time to listen repeatedly and reflect, coming back to them afresh for the transcription and subsequent analysis (Chen, 2011).

Rather than resorting to “data reduction” (Miles and Huberman, 1994), which implies getting to the essence of an issue but also a significant loss of body, I chose to facilitate “data condensation”: consciously and repeatedly exerting choice and focus to enable the strengthening of data, thereby producing significant conclusions (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2014). Put simply, and following Rapley (2011), I tried to focus on data characteristics which were the same and which were different.

I followed the six steps of thematic analysis advocated by Braun and Clarke (2006, p.87):

1. Familiarizing yourself with your data
2. Generating initial codes
3. Searching for themes
4. Reviewing themes
5. Defining and naming themes
6. Producing the report

My themes are mainly data-driven (*a posteriori*) rather than theory-driven (*a priori*); my prior literature search and my experience in the field aided the development of questions for participants, but it was their answers which led to the creation of themes. Some themes were to be expected, after the literature review; but some themes addressed topics not discovered in previous literature. Often, the word used by the participant would become the code: an *in vivo* code. Sometimes, I would make a new code half way through the data already analysed and I would retrace my steps, to see whether that emotion or experience had occurred in an earlier document; the process was cyclic and enriching.

Once all the data had been coded, a total of 112 codes, I generated pattern codes (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2014), clustering codes together and then the themes became more clear (Appendix G). Generating codes and grouping them into related areas was relatively straightforward; it was deciding on the themes and then revisiting all the data in order to refine and analyse the themes, sometimes resulting in a new theme, which was more challenging, and which could have gone on for much longer (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

I coded the 297 WRs, line-by-line, with the assistance of NVivo, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) programme. I found this to be an efficient way to organize the data, identify them with codes and start to consider themes. It helped me to go on and complete a “rigorous analysis” (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013) of the data. Often a single line of text would be “sliced”, that is, giving it multiple codes corresponding with different themes. Programmes such as NVivo are useful tools in qualitative research but they still need the researcher to take what they produce and skillfully, creatively and intuitively analyse the results (Wellington, 2015).

For the study of the six individuals, I re-coded their WRs, as well as coded the interview transcriptions, using NVivo, and reviewed the observations made and school documentation. The aim was to identify themes which were pertinent to each individual, which could be different to the broader themes identified in the analysis of the WRs.

3.10 Linguistic equivalence

Tanu and Dales (2016) refer to “the scholarly silence on the role of language” (p.367) in research, which is something I want to address since language and translation is so elemental to this study. Methodological descriptions of studies involving the use of translation often lack rigour, transparency and complexity in explaining linguistic issues at the heart of the studies (Lopez *et al.*, 2008; Rubinstein-Avila, 2013). Indeed, references to translation often do not exist (Esposito, 2001; Temple and Young, 2004; Al-Amer *et al.*, 2015) nor references to languages used in fieldwork by researchers (Tanu and Dales, 2016). Yet treating translation issues seriously and systematically is essential in order to maintain the integrity of a study (Al-Amer *et al.*, 2015).

As a native English speaker who has lived in Turkey for 27 years, working continually in a bilingual setting, my comprehension of spoken and written Turkish and my speaking skills are adequate but my written Turkish is weak. I felt comfortable with the idea of reading and understanding what pupils were to write for me, and being able to converse in Turkish. My role as both researcher and part-translator afforded me a strong position in being able to understand and interpret cross-cultural dilemmas (Temple and Young, 2004). It must be acknowledged that researching in a language other than your native language is a challenge (Lopez *et al.*, 2008). I was aware of the fact that choosing to rely largely on my linguistic ability rather than consistently using a translator meant that I could be biased towards my positionality in the field (Rubinstein-Avila, 2013). Indeed, translation is subjective (Muller, 2007; Rubinstein-Avila, 2013), neutrality impossible (Temple and Young, 2004); I suggest this is because good translation is an art, which inherently involves the artist in its creation.

Some documents had to be translated into Turkish (such as permission forms) and any oral instructions to be given, such as my explanation of the process to the parents when I asked for their written permission, so at times I needed a translator. Gross (1991) compared a translator to a fisherman whose net has to be constructed of the correct sized mesh and wielded skillfully in order to catch the right kind of fish. Following his analogy, my translator was a skillful fisherwoman, a Turkish national, fluent in English and Turkish, and comfortable in both cultures, something which Twinn (1997) considers to be important for quality translation to be achieved. Thus, she knew both “the map”, i.e. the language, and “the terrain”, i.e. the culture (Hayakawa and Hayakawa, 1991). She had been working as the translator at Forrest School for over fifteen years so she knew the research setting. Having a translator who knows the specialized location and its terminology in both languages greatly aids the quality and reliability of the data’s meanings (Al-Amer *et al.*, 2015). The fact that she was mainly translating into her preferred language, Turkish, was advantageous for high quality, nuanced translation (Hofstede, 1984). She also translated pupils’ Written Response comments from Turkish to English. The translator regularly communicated any semantic challenge she faced, such as a dilemma over which word to use to effectively communicate a meaning, such communication being advocated by experienced authors (Temple and Young, 2004; Al-Amer *et al.*, 2015).

Linguistic equivalence is not always possible (Kenny, 2009). Even when translation is done well, it does not guarantee that all participants will understand a word or a phrase in the same way (Rubinstein-Avila, 2009), nor that the equivalent word or phrase has been discovered, as it may not exist (Muller, 2007): for example, in Turkish, the words “challenge” and “reflection” do not exist (Halicioğlu, 2008), both concepts which were to be explored in this study. Conversely, some words in Turkish cannot be adequately expressed in English: for example, a pupil might write about her “*amca*” which means her uncle on her father’s side, as opposed to her “*dayı*” who is her uncle on her mother’s side. These words for family members, sometimes quite distant relatives, show the importance of family relationships in Turkish culture, which may not be so significant in native English-speaking cultures. The translator also has to act as an interpreter at times, as a word-for-word translation may not convey the necessary cultural or individual context of the comment (Esposito, 2001). Being part of a bi-cultural family, Turkish and English, enabled me to avoid certain cultural pitfalls

which some researchers less cognisant of their cultural field may encounter (Rubinstein-Avila, 2013). It also enabled me to understand the significance of certain comments in light of Turkish culture, expectations and practices.

Clearly, the act of translation is an essential component of this study, facilitating the interpretation of data. All pupil comments quoted which originated in Turkish are stated in their original form in Appendix H, so that any bilingual reader can ascertain the degree of accuracy of the translation, and hence critically evaluate the translation act (Muller, 2007). In addition, providing the Turkish originals is an ontological decision, showing respect for a beautiful language which has surrounded me for over a quarter of a century.

3.11 Ethical issues

Ethics have been an ongoing challenge from conception of the study right up to the final stages: I am responsible for the participants not just in the role of researcher, but in my professional role at Forrest School, and this is a responsibility that I take very seriously. It is always important to consider and protect the rights of everyone involved in the research process, throughout and even beyond the process. As Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011, p.165) point out, “all educational research is sensitive: the question is one of degree”. My commitment to the welfare of these pupils, as well as future pupils transferring to this residential school, is the underpinning of all ethical decisions taken; thus, my positionality is tightly knitted together with my purpose (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012).

3.11.1 Anonymity and Confidentiality

All individuals and the school have been given pseudonyms in an effort to preserve anonymity; my introductions to the WR activities and before the interviews included the statement that no pupils would be identifiable by their name in my thesis. However, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) insist that there is no guarantee of anonymity for participants when there are face-to-face interviews, with individuals sharing their stories.

Confidentiality concerns not revealing details shared which would identify the participants. Striving to maintain confidentiality has been a significant challenge and there was always a weighted decision involved when including personal details which run the risk of exposing a pupil's real identity; for example, I chose not to match the pupils with their hometowns since that would help to identify them. However, removal of details, often directly relevant to their situation, means that it runs the risk of neutering the impact of their personal experience and disrespecting the courage they showed in communicating so honestly and openly. I have done my best to reduce traceability and the University of Bath has agreed to my request not to publish anything until after the pupils have left the school; it is my hope that once they leave, four years after the data was gathered, that any participant interest in my research will have been diluted.

3.11.2 Permission and informed consent

According to Dockett, Perry and Kearney (2013), underage participants can be asked to give their "assent", as opposed to "consent" which only legal guardians can give. However, most authors (see, for example, Tisdall, Davis and Gallagher, 2009; Gallagher *et al.*, 2010; Kellett, 2010; Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011; Appelbaum, 2015) refer to participants being asked to give "consent". All participants, regardless of their age, must be informed of the process and purpose of the research in which they will be involved, and how the results will be used and shared; and they must willingly agree to participate (British Educational Research Association, 2011).

In order for the consent to be informed, it was important for them to understand the purpose of their involvement and I reminded them of this at every data-gathering exercise; in this respect, consent was dynamic, not just a signed form, as the pupils were choosing each time whether or not to participate (Gallagher *et al.*, 2010), something which Dewing (2007) refers to as "process consent". The occasional comment at the end of a WR wishing me well with my research shows that they were cognizant of what they were doing and its purpose (Gallagher *et al.*, 2010).

Written permission to conduct the research was first obtained from the Forrest School Headmaster. I obtained written permission from the participants' parents prior to the pupils moving in. The pupils gave their written consent on the first evening they moved in: they had the opportunity to ask questions, and then they read and signed the permission form. Informed consent forms can be notoriously difficult to read and understand, often written at a level beyond the capacity of the participants (Ogloff and Otto, 1991; Ruiz-Casares and Thompson, 2014), so the form was written in very simple Turkish. Consent forms can be seen in Appendix I.

The right to privacy goes beyond a mere consideration of confidentiality; it includes the right to desist from participating in research (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). Not participating may be a bigger challenge than participating (Bourke and Loveridge, 2014), especially when, as in this case, the researcher is a senior member of staff. In this study, pupils sometimes demonstrated "informed dissent" (Bourke and Loveridge, 2014, p.151): occasionally, they handed back blank WRs, or a minimal response, or a response expressing displeasure with the task. However, it has to be acknowledged that the WR response rate of 98% is probably connected to my dean's role in the school.

3.11.3 Validity

According to Silverman (2013, p.285), "validity refers to the credibility of our interpretations". In other words, my processes must be rigorous and thorough leading to thoughtful, transparent and logical conclusions and I believe I achieved this. Throughout the research process, I attempted to amplify validity and limit invalidity (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011).

Inconsistency or ambiguity in the data can question the extent of validity (Watson, 2006). For example, a pupil's eighth WR might contain a detail contradicting information from her second WR. However, each pupil was generally consistent in the information shared; any slight ambiguity could easily be explained as a reflection of how the individual was feeling on each occasion, bearing in mind that these participants were all adolescents. The use of a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software programme for coding of the data means that I have a clear audit trail regarding the treatment of data.

Validity does not just concern concepts and methods, but also the integrity of the researcher which is demonstrated throughout the process, not just as an end-product of quality control (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). My integrity is demonstrated by my interrogating data which did not seem to make sense, by my search for the true meaning of what the pupils were saying, and by being as unbiased as possible in the interviews (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). In addition, my careful attention to translation matters means there is no threat to validity in that respect, as is often the case in cross-cultural research, according to Esposito (2001).

I did not ask for respondent validation of what they had said in the WRs and interviews; as already mentioned, I feared the pupils would be disappointed seeing the level of their English in print. However, I achieved validity with triangulation of data, confirming and checking using other sources, what Silverman (2013, p.290) refers to as “the constant comparative method”; by not jumping too quickly to conclusions; and by analysing rigorously all data collected.

3.11.4 Reliability

As Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, p.245) state, “reliability pertains to the consistency and trustworthiness of research findings”. This study has reliable data in that the whole population of 34 pupils participated in the research, with a 98% response rate on the WRs and the six pupils selected for interviewing all participating fully in both interviews.

Reliability also concerns “precision and accuracy” (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p.199); dealing with qualitative data means that its complexity and oft-cited messiness makes it a challenge to be totally precise and accurate. I was accurate and precise in the collection of all data, reporting what was observed or shared: in the processes I employed for analysis, as well as the reporting of the results.

However, my role as the researcher has some issues in terms of reliability, because of my dual role in the eyes of the pupils: their dean and a researcher. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) consider reliability as the degree to which results could be reproduced were there to be a different researcher. There can be no

guarantee that the results would have been the same in all areas of this research with a different researcher. With regards to the WRs, I suggest that results could have been similar although my position of power within the school, no matter how much I tried to play it down, could have had an impact on their participation, I believe positively. In terms of the interviews, I suggest that another researcher would reveal a different picture, since the relationship between the researcher and the participants results in negotiated meaning (Finlay, 2003), and we had a very definite relationship. It would have been easier for the interviewees to lie or be evasive had the interviewer been someone who did not know them, nor know their individual situations. I had a strong relationship with the interviewees, there was a high level of trust in me, which again, I suggest, is a positive factor. I cannot deny that my role in the school may have influenced the data. Even the transcription aspect might not have been the same, but I believe that my involvement made the data more reliable, than had an independent person done the transcription: I knew the pupils, common mistakes made by Turks learning English, and I was keen to investigate when something did not seem to make sense, according to what had been said. I agree with Stake (1995) who suggests that the quality of a case study does not rely on whether or not the results can be replicated as much as whether the meanings are of value.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) prefer the concept of trustworthiness to validity and reliability. In research involving other cultures and using more than one language, trustworthiness includes the processes involved with translation (Sutrisno, Nguyen and Tangen, 2014). Misinterpretation and misrepresentation can be an issue in any qualitative research, but even more so when translation is involved since inaccurately translated data will lead to inaccurate results and conclusions (Esposito, 2001). I consider this study to be trustworthy in all areas: my honesty, integrity, reflexivity and sensitivity at all points in the research mean that the data gathered and the results produced are faithful and steadfast.

3.12 The organisation of data chapters

The data analysis is organised into seven chapters: six short chapters, each one devoted to an individual pupil, those adolescents chosen to be part of phase two; and the last data chapter which analyses the WRs. Each chapter focusing on an

individual starts with details of the pupil in the form of a short, narrative profile, and ends with a sub-chapter summarising the process of transition for that particular child. Aside from these two commonalities, these six chapters have different areas of focus, since each individual had different issues, views and perceptions.

The last data analysis chapter concerns the WRs of all 34 participants, drawing out themes. In all data chapters, there is an emphasis on the words spoken or written by the child, including grammatical errors, as participants' words can give a "concrete, vivid and meaningful flavor" (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2014, p.4).

4. Data Analysis: The Case of Alev

4.1 Alev's profile

Alev was a 7-day residential pupil from the south-east of Turkey on partial scholarship, with an older brother. She achieved full scores in the Turkish national entrance examinations, and the decision to enrol at Forrest School was last minute. She entered Forrest School within the middle range of the 4th proficiency level of the English Language Test for International Students (ELTiS), and at the end of the year, her GPA ranked her 17th out of 220 pupils. Her Forrest School teachers all spoke highly of her and she was academically very strong in all subjects.

4.2 Relationship with her mother

Alev was very close to her mother:

The most special thing to me is my mother's love and support.

Alev: WR8

This was apparent even before she moved in. All residential pupils and parents met at school two weeks prior to the start of the semester to begin orientation activities. After the initial communal meeting, pupils and their families went to the residences, but Alev stayed behind, approached me and burst into tears. She told me she had come with her father, that she had been away from her mother for two days and did not know how she would be able to manage without her when she moved to the school. She managed to express herself very fluently in English, so it was clear that she had one advantage over many others: English language fluency.

One of the hardest things about returning to Istanbul after each holiday was the parting at the airport:

I'm fine. We are leaving the car. I'm fine. We are entering. I get my ticket. I'm fine. Then I hug my mum. Then I want to cry.

Alev: 1st interview

Alev thought that her relationship with her mother improved as the year progressed. At the start of the year, her mother would not directly express any concern for her, choosing instead to confide in Alev's older brother who would then contact Alev. However, towards the end of the year, when Alev's grandfather was diagnosed with cancer, it was to Alev that her mother turned, not her brother, something which pleased Alev:

I felt trusted and it made me happy, actually.

Alev: 2nd interview

Alev tried to keep herself busy so as not to miss her family too much:

I try to keep my mind busy in order to not think about home. I think about my mom before I go to sleep.

Alev: WR4

Even though they were very close, it did not seem that the relationship was overpowering in any way. Alev's initial reaction of fear that she would not survive without her mother by her side was not realised. She missed her mother at times, and shared how she was feeling with her. Since her parents lived in an area of Turkey with considerable political unrest, the uncertainty of their situation was an undercurrent to Alev's time at Forrest School.

4.3 Friendship

Alev had difficulty in finding friends. One reason was her inability to communicate well with her peers, and her highly developed, self-preservation instinct:

Whenever I try to talk, it backfires, which actually causes me to stay silent.

Alev: 2nd interview

She had high standards for friendship:

I'm not so good at making friends um It's because I kind of set my expectations really high [laughter].

Alev: 2nd interview

She expected friendship to be mutually beneficial:

I think friendship should be, like, each person should add something to each other.

Alev: 2nd interview

At times, Alev was intolerant of her roommates, related with her own principles. For example, when they swore in the room, she was shocked. She was dismayed that some girls quickly made friendships, even prior to moving to the school, since they had communicated by WhatsApp; Alev had read all the messages but never joined in the “conversations”, and felt inadequate compared to her more interactive peers. So, it took her time to make friends. However, by the end of the year, she had found one close friend in the residence, Mina, whom she said was like her sister.

Talking through her experiences with her hometown friends helped Alev process her feelings. With her Forrest School peers, she was not as successful at talking things through. At the end of the year, she expressed regret that she had not been fair with her roommates, because she had not expressed her thoughts well:

Alev: I don't know why. But I feel like a bad person.

M: How do you mean?

Alev: I don't know ... I mean about talking with my roommates I realise that I have been treating them, like, unclearly and after that I have been guilty, actually.

Alev: 2nd interview

Alev's independent streak meant that she was able to function without many friends; but once she found Mina, and she had someone to confide in, she became more content.

4.4 Strong sense of right and wrong

Alev had strong opinions and, at times, struggled trying to understand and tolerate the opinions or actions of others, for example:

I find it so annoying when people have no respect for another. It can be me or anybody else.

Alev: WR1

Coming from a different cultural background, she valued diversity:

They say difference is good. And I say difference is better because when you are, when different people, you know, become friends, they actually, like I said, they actually have so much to give and take and I think that's perfect.

Alev: 1st interview

She could not understand some girls' obsession with their weight and frankly told them what she thought, only to be rebuffed:

I think weight is not something that matters in life. I don't understand, and when I tried to explain to them, they actually, you know talked to me a little bit harshly, which made me feel so bad.

Alev: 1st interview

In some ways, she was not a typical teenage girl, and was very dismissive of her peers:

What annoys me is teenager's efforts to be cool or get attention.

Alev: WR8

Some of her roommates kept working at night after lights out, and the lights or noise from their laptops disturbed her; she was angry that her sleep was disturbed. In such examples, there was little room for compromise and Alev's inflexibility caused her to have conflicts.

4.5 Cultural identity

Alev came from an area of Turkey with a high proportion of people with Kurdish ethnicity; some Turks have deep-rooted hostility towards Kurds so Alev was cautious in referring to her origins:

Most of my friends don't know about my ethnicity and they usually say mean things ... Yes! And, em, so I have to kind of ... like ... I have to be able to talk, like be comfortable

around them and ... em It really takes a long time to decide whether or not I will be comfortable or not.

Alev: 2nd interview

Some of her classmates had spoken inappropriately about Kurds, without knowing her ethnicity:

Sometimes in class, there were some rude comments so I kind of ... em ... I kind of stepped back without realizing. But after I realised, I decided to, I decided not to do that.

Alev: 2nd interview

This is indicative of Alev's reflection on incidents. There was a sense of guilt that she was not standing up for her ethnic roots, but she was not sufficiently strong at that time to face a possible reaction from her peers. At first, some of the residential pupils ridiculed her when they learned of her hometown, implying it was backward. On one occasion, a girl asked her if there was any technology in her hometown, and another pupil commented that he had seen goats within the city's walls. Alev was incredulous of their ignorance, and upset, but at the time, she had not reacted to her peers' insensitivity. She said that her hometown friends, attending other residential schools around the country, also experienced similar prejudice, and they talked about such things when they got together in the holidays. An older residential girl from the same region reached out to Alev with support, as she had experienced similar comments in the past. Alev felt different to her roommates, and her background was a big part of that:

But sometimes, we are just too different ... and ... they are ... same, and I'm difference which makes me feel very uncomfortable because, you know, whenever there is a joke in the room, I'm the one who never laughs because, I don't know, that kind of humour doesn't make sense to me.

Alev: 1st interview

School food had a totally different taste from the type of food she was used to and this culinary void connected with her yearning for her mother in times of stress:

I was stressed, kind of, because summative [examination] and stuff like that, and I searched for my mother's food but it wasn't there so ...

Alev: 1st interview

At times, she felt isolated from others, that no one could understand what she was experiencing:

Loneliness is when you have people around you but they cannot understand you.

Alev: WR8

She tried to cover her cultural identity, except for sharing with a few people, and this meant she could never fully relax, nor be honest. Since she was such a frank person, this caused some inner turmoil.

4.6 Self-awareness and maturity

Alev realized she had changed during the year, that the new experiences had had an effect on her. At the beginning of the year, she expressed her desire to change:

Everyone had to win a race to get in. And we all have races in front of us. But what I want to do is beyond winning the race. I want to change. And I am changing. I came here only 2 weeks ago but I can see I changed. For example, my old self would be shy to speak English. My old self would not write this in English because she would think about the mistakes she can do. My old self would not raise her hand to every question or would not try to attend every activity in class. And I'm happy about it.

Alev: WR2

By the end of the year, she considered herself to have grown in confidence, talking more with friends, or volunteering to speak in class. She also learned to take more things in her stride, and not worry so much about academics:

At the beginning of the year, I would probably stress over little quizzes, not now. I feel like, I mean, if I have been listening to the teacher, and I have done my homework, then I would be fine, There is no need to, like, be stressed.... It's something that Forrest School has taught me very slowly.

Alev: 2nd interview

This was a significant realisation and demonstrated her maturity, self-reflection and level-headedness. She acknowledged that she wasn't easy to get along with at first:

I'm kind of a person that you love me once you get to know me. Before that, I'm just a weird person.

Alev: 1st interview

Her inability to trust easily and to make friends troubled her, a feeling which surpassed her feelings of longing for her home and family:

I would look around and I would see people, you know, being friends with each other so easily and I sometimes wanted to be like them but couldn't be So yeah. It really upsets me a lot. Which which kind of surprises me because I thought maybe being away from home and my family would be bad, the worst thing, but I think this is the worst thing right now.

Alev: 1st interview

Alev was prepared to take risks because they were investments for the future:

I realized that "not so confident Alev" wasn't good at improving herself. But now I see things as chances. And you know, there is no harm in taking a chance.

Alev: WR4

She was prepared to leave her comfort zone and to test herself:

I guess coming to Istanbul was like an experiment to me; my hometown was like a perfect ant farm, and I just wanted to know what would happen if I shake it.

Alev: draft English essay

She was very self-aware, reflective and determined. Before she moved to Forrest School, she demonstrated her self-awareness, accurately describing herself as:

Creative, determined, natural, stubborn, emotional.

Alev: Pupil Profile. Translated.

Alev was also optimistic, and looked on disappointments as opportunities: for example, she was not accepted into the Debate Club so instead, she applied to and was accepted into the Social Entrepreneurship Club:

Yes! I mean [laughter], if life could close the door, then it opens another one.

Alev: 2nd interview

She was remarkably mature, beyond her years, also resourceful:

During the first semester, the best thing I could do was not losing my determination, you know, keep going, not giving up.

Alev: 2nd interview

When analysing her peers' social relationships, and her relationship with her peers, she was metaphorically intuitive:

They are like ... em... sheeps [laughter]. They usually follow each other and when sheep tries to escape from others [laughter], they kind of attack, attacked it and that sheep is usually me [laughter].

Alev: 2nd interview

4.7 Sport

Alev discovered basketball at Forrest School and she used it as a tool to ease her transition:

The moment I had the basketball in my hands I realized I really enjoyed it. Basketball keeps me distracted.

Alev: WR4

She connected well with the basketball coach and would often be seen running with him on campus; she enjoyed chatting with him, as well as the running. She would often go to the gym and practise alone. She shared one incident when some older residential boys went to the gym to play basketball and commented on the fact that there was a girl playing alone:

It made me feel extremely uncomfortable but I continued my practice, so I am proud of myself.

Alev: 1st interview

Even though Alev felt uncomfortable with their comments, her determination to improve dissolved their negative energy. She knew that she wanted to get better and that playing basketball helped her psychologically.

4.8 Summary: how smooth a transition?

Academically, Alev had a very smooth transition. She was an independent worker, quite fluent in English from the start of the year, determined, intelligent and resourceful. She achieved a balance between her studies and sports and was academically very successful.

Culturally, she had a more difficult transition. Her background was very different from her peers': while she shared her ethnicity with some of her residential friends, she did not feel comfortable to do so with her classmates. This reticence, not being true to her heart and her heritage, caused her distress and some guilt. She found comfort from an older pupil from the same geographical region, who had experienced similar emotions, and from her hometown friends. School food, which she struggled with, was a constant reminder of the separation from her ethnic roots and her family.

Socially, Alev had a challenging year but she developed enormously. Her frankness, intolerance of frivolities, and struggles in communicating with her peers hindered her progress. Her experience with some girls who were insincere or inconsiderate meant she was reluctant to trust and it took her a while to find a close friend in whom she could confide and share. By the second semester, she learned to explain herself to her peers so that they could better understand her feelings and approach. Being independent, she was comfortable doing things alone, although at times she regretted not having more friends.

Alev's transition to Forrest School was not consistently smooth, but she persevered, took all opportunities available to her, and remained optimistic. She was a strong character, self-aware, reflective, resourceful and resilient.

5. Data Analysis: The Case of Emre

5.1 Emre's profile

Emre's immediate family consisted of his mother, father and younger sibling. Both parents worked full-time, and were university graduates. Unusually for someone whose hometown was so far away, he was a 5-day residential pupil, staying with a relative in Istanbul at weekends. His parents paid the full tuition. His main interest was computers and he hoped to be a computer programmer in the future.

5.2 Academic disappointment

Emre joined Forrest School after achieving a full score on the comprehensive 8th grade national examinations, and with quite a good knowledge of English, in the middle range of level 4 of the English Language Test for International Students (ELTiS). However, at the end of the year, his GPA was 69.94% and he was ranked 216th out of the 222 pupils in his year group. He had failed Maths, a course which he struggled with throughout the year, although he said that Maths had been his favourite subject in previous years. His failure in Maths at the end of the first semester meant he was put on academic probation at the start of the second semester, a source of disappointment and irritation:

I am on academic probation so I don't have a lot of things to be proud of.

Emre: 1st interview

Teachers reported in all subjects that Emre seemed to be making much more effort in the second semester, although his grades did not improve consistently. He had gone home in the mid-year holiday with a report card which had disappointed his parents and he was told to shape up as he came back much more determined and with some changed habits, for example, totally giving up gaming:

M: Can you not play a little bit? You were saying you want to stop totally.

Emre: [sighs] Totally because there isn't any middle of it. You just play so much or you don't play. That's how games works. You are a student who plays games or you are a student who studies his lessons. There isn't any middle of that, I think. Because even

though you think you are studying, while you are studying, your brain is at something else, like games.

Emre: 1st interview

His words sound like the words of adults, probably his parents'. By the end of the year, his English language proficiency had increased as he went up one level after taking the ELTiS test.

He repeatedly shared how much he loved Forrest School, and stated in the fifth week of school that this was the first time he enjoyed going to school. Yet when returning after the *bayram* holiday early in the first semester, he said that the worst thing about returning was the fact that lessons started. Emre veered from thinking lessons were great, to hating them. Eighty-minute lessons were a challenge for him, which he himself acknowledged. My lesson observations showed that Emre had great difficulty with concentration, staying focused, not shouting out, and physically keeping still; on one occasion, when it was a silent reading task, Emre was "reading" a graphic novel yet he didn't turn a page in over 5 minutes. He was often sleepy in class, trying to put his head on the desk, especially the first lesson of the day.

His teachers reported that he would usually start a task with great excitement but then his lack of organisation and his inability to follow through meant that often both homework and classwork tasks were not completed, and that his work was inconsistent in quality. This may have contributed to the fact that his classmates did not like collaborating with Emre: he was not popular, and this lack of friends tortured him.

5.3 Organisation issues

His father shared, prior to the move in, that Emre would need help in organising himself. Organisation proved to be a serious challenge. At the end of the year, he had accrued 40 unexcused lates to class; and he was regularly late to the evening study hall. He was also forgetful: on one occasion, he turned up just as the bus was leaving to take residential pupils to the airport before a holiday, even though he had not signed up in advance. Frequently, he did not have the necessary materials for class. He did not follow instructions well: for one Maths test, he had

not realised that a significant part of the test covered the functions of the graphing calculator, and so he could only do half of the test. His bed and desk area were often untidy. Emre regularly looked disheveled, his hair clean but uncombed.

5.4 Friendship

Emre craved genuine friendship. Before moving to the school, he shared that one of the things he was most looking forward to was “thoughtful friends” (Emre: Pupil Profile, translated). His father had commented, however, on Emre’s difficulty in creating friendships, and Emre echoed this, acknowledging that he had problems at his previous schools, and that he was sometimes to blame:

The hardest thing for me is to be good friends with everyone.... And the worst thing is my bad friendships are because of me.

Emre: WR1

Half way through the year, he had not been able to find a best friend:

M: Who is your best friend?

Emre: Um[long pause]... This is a hard question.

M: Why is it a hard question?

Emre: I don’t know because I didn’t think about that, really. Because all my friends are good and I’m speaking with them well.

Emre: 1st interview

The implication that he had many good friends was not born out by fact nor his own admission at other times. He told me he had tried a technique to find friends, trying to find things which others liked to do, to share their interest: for example, in his English class, he chose to be part of a literature circle group which was reading the novel “Fahrenheit 451”, in a literary genre he didn’t normally like. It seemed to work somewhat, as, at the end of the year, Emre was occasionally playing computer games with the day pupil boys in this group after school.

Emre was maintaining contacts with his hometown friends. He reported that he had sent over 150 messages to these friends in just one evening; such communication could have been done at times when he was not allowed to be

using his mobile phone, including after “lights out” since Emre was sometimes caught using devices after midnight, something which undoubtedly contributed to his sleeplessness in classes.

Interacting with girls was a new experience for Emre as, in his hometown, friendship groups were largely gender-based. He didn’t appear to have much success, however, as his attempts to make friends with girls often resulted in feelings of humiliation:

It’s first time I real making friends with the girls and... like... they see that I can’t make friends and like, whenever I try to speak with a girl, I go in, like, a panic situation and then they laugh at me and they don’t be friendly.

Emre: 2nd interview

By the end of the year, he still had no close friends at school:

I don’t have a lot of friends, even now, at residence, like not REAL friends, like real, real friends... like... I can’t even, er, tell who is my real friend there...

Emre: 2nd interview

Yet when asked what he would miss in the summer about residential life, he commented:

My friends. All of them.

Emre: WR9

He acknowledged that he didn’t have strong friendships yet he said he was going to miss the friendships he thought he had established. This demonstrated his unreal perception of situations, and his inability or unwillingness to accept that what he hoped for at the start of the year, “thoughtful friends”, had not been realised. At the end of the year, when the residential boys had the chance to choose who they would like to share a room with the following year, no one chose Emre to be their roommate.

5.5 Pressure from his parents

Even before moving to Forrest School, one of Emre's goals was "to pay back to my family what they have done for me" (Emre: Pupil Profile, translated). This shows him to be a generous-spirited, grateful son. However, the pressure exerted by his parents during the year, and his inability to live up to their expectations, transformed this sense of gratitude into guilt, and impacted his transition.

His mother travelled to Istanbul several times during the year to meet individually with his teachers. Emre said he did not feel homesick because he felt his parents were always with him; they were tracking his academic performance closely, and psychologically he could sense their continuous presence.

Emre looked up to his father, whom he gave as his role model, "someone who works hard for what he wants" (Emre: Pupil Profile, translated). However, his father sounded unstable when angered:

My dad is...mmmm... he is a nice guy NORMALLY, when you don't have any bad things happened BUT if you have something bad happen, then you are in a trouble. Because he is a LITTLE unbalanced. He can't control himself sometimes...

Emre: 1st interview

The threat of violence seemed to hang in the air in his home:

He is very careful about the, er, violence to the womans and childs and he never ever does any violence to us. He's great about that. I don't know how he just stops himself from hitting me. I don't know. He's a great dad.

Emre: 1st interview

It is understandable why Emre was reluctant to maintain close telephone contact with his parents, especially when things were not going well:

At the first semester we [Emre and his parents] were very bad because my grades were low, I wasn't calling them, they were, like, they were calling me and I wasn't answering them ...

Emre: 2nd interview

He felt he was disappointing them, especially since they had invested so much in him, including a significant financial investment regarding school fees; Forrest School was one of the most expensive schools in Turkey. He desperately wanted to please them:

I love to see them happy because when they are happy, I am happy.

Emre: 1st interview

His father promised to give up smoking if Emre could gain a GPA of 70 or above at the end of the year; Emre didn't reach that goal. His teacher reported the scene in class when Emre opened his report card and saw his final grade: Emre waited until most of his class mates had left, then put his head on the desk, covered his head with his coat, and sobbed. He was going home for the summer holiday knowing that he had again disappointed his father, and that the unreasonable weight of his father's continued smoking, and hence the risk of an early death, rested on his shoulders.

5.6 Residential Life

Some aspects of residential life were a challenge for Emre. On the one hand, he appreciated that he was becoming more independent:

This makes you ready for life.

Emre: WR1

Yet the routines and the need to follow community rules caused him difficulty. He said that the worst part of residential life was the one-hour study hall each evening; it is a requirement for there to be silence, laptops are not allowed, and pupils have to sit in their seats, not disturbing others. All of these things made it a nightly ordeal for Emre.

He had trouble sleeping. On the one hand, he missed his own bed at home. On the other hand, once in bed and after "lights out", he was often distracted by his mobile phone or laptop. His parents informed the staff that he was online after midnight. Frequently playing computer games, messaging (he was in lots of WhatsApp groups) or watching cartoons on his laptop seemed to be a regular

way for Emre to block out the realities of his experience. Of course, the lack of sleep had an impact on his academic success.

At times, he was afraid of what could happen in the residence. For example, he did not bring any special items to his room “because I’m afraid anyone can broke it” (Emre: 1st interview). He was unlucky in having the bottom bunk of a unit and he complained of being the lackey for those in the high-bed units, having to switch off lights, get items for them, and so forth. One particular incident was disturbing. His parents had sent a birthday cake for him. Before cutting it, he went to the bathroom to wash his hands but when he came back it was gone. He found it in some older boys’ room; Emre said it was an older boy’s birthday, and so the older boy’s friends had taken it and he was eating it with his hands. Emre told this story in response to my question to tell me about a good time and a bad time: this was his good time story. It is possible that he found it amusing; but it is also possible that he has covered up his sadness and distress by pretending this cruel incident was amusing. It seems that Emre frequently tried to avoid facing facts. In the second interview, it took him 22 seconds to recall a happy occasion from the whole year, and he chose a school festival a few days earlier: he had spent most of the day either alone or playing a game with strangers.

5.7 Phobias

Emre shared three phobias. Firstly, he had a fear of insects:

Emre: Bugs are terrible. When they touch me, even they ...when they touch me, it’s ..er...it becomes terrible...

M: Oh....

Emre: So bad. I can’t sleep.

Emre: 1st interview

Secondly, he was scared of confined spaces: he recalled an incident in class where he was hiding in a cupboard, to surprise the teacher at the start of his presentation, but someone locked him in there, as a joke. Thirdly, he felt that someone was always watching him:

If you looked at cameras, you’d probably laugh to me because I’m always like this [he looks over his shoulder].

Emre: 1st interview

The frequent references made to his parents always being with him in his mind could well be connected with this feeling he has of being watched constantly. In the first semester, he would go to the bathroom to get changed, rather than change his clothes in his room, because of his sense that he was being watched, in this case by his roommates.

5.8 Immaturity

Many of Emre's actions in class were childish, such as having a pencil fight with his neighbour. His hand-writing was very underdeveloped, almost illegible. During the interviews, he was the only pupil to eat almost all of the cookies. One of the most animated descriptions he gave was concerning snack time on evenings when a certain cereal was provided:

So we go and we eat snack and we attack, we don't eat. It's the race between you and your friends: who will get the most 'cause it's finished so early, so fast.... And I LOVE that thing, I just LOVE that thing.

Emre: 1st interview

He would cry easily, including in the classroom and especially when he got a low grade. He had quite a low opinion of himself when he first arrived:

I was selfish and kind of rude boy.

Emre: 1st interview

However, at the end of the year, the one area where he thought he had changed concerned his level of maturity:

M: How do you think you have changed while you have been here?

Emre: I think I get, like, *olgunlaşmak* [to become mature].

M: You got more mature. In what respect? Give me some examples how you have changed.

Emre: Like, I started caring about my family more and I started to call them more and I behaved like.... I didn't behave like child any more.

Emre: 2nd interview

It is noteworthy that he considered phoning his parents as a sign of his growing maturity; again, I suggest that his words reflect what he had been told by adults in his family.

5.9 Summary: how smooth a transition?

Emre experienced a difficult transition year. Academically, after always being the best in his primary school and achieving full points on the national entrance examinations, he had experienced failure and disappointment. His lack of organisational skills compounded the problem. On top of this, he had to accept the disappointment of his parents and bear the burden of guilt, since they had sacrificed so much for him to be able to attend Forrest School, including downsizing their home. These disappointments were hard to accept and so he was avoiding tackling the issues head on, by distracting himself with computer games and cartoons.

His perceived lack of security in the residence, emotional more than physical, may mirror the threats he experienced at home from his seemingly unstable father, and the continuous pressure from both parents. Someone who feels mistreated in his own private space cannot function fully in his everyday life. Feeling that he was constantly being watched was an unsettling situation for him.

Emre's lack of school friends meant he had no peer support mechanism. He had no one to let off steam with, no one to ask when struggling with homework, no one with whom to share his worries. A lack of sincere friends in the residence was a major obstacle to his transition; the opportunity of genuinely sharing experiences with those who were going through something similar did not exist for him. His immaturity amongst fellow developing adolescents made him stand out in a negative way.

His poor academic record disappointed his parents, which meant more pressure was put on him, which meant more stress, subsequent avoidance and more poor academics. Forrest School was highly competitive; pupils valued other pupils even if they were quirky or eccentric, because of their intellectual ability and collaborative potential. Emre's poor work ethic was stunting his friendship

opportunities. Emre was caught in a detrimental cycle, which impacted the transition.

6. Data Analysis: The Case of Ebru

6.1 Ebru's profile

Ebru was a 7-day residential pupil from central Anatolia on full scholarship, due to her parents' financial income. She had an older brother, attending university. Her family moved city to join her brother the summer she moved to Forrest School: so not only did Ebru move away from her family to attend school but she also lost her childhood home and regular holiday-time contact with her hometown friends. It was a very quick and unexpected decision to attend Forrest School, although it was Ebru's choice. She started the year feeling weak in terms of her English proficiency, but she ended the year ranked 35th out of 220 pupils.

6.2 Relationship with her parents

Ebru considered her mother to be very controlling:

She tries to control everything in world... She is [laughter] really different than most of the parents. She is a very good person and I love her but Sometimes I'm thinking about if she were not in my life, how will it be? [laughter]... I don't like generally her treatment but [laughter] she is my mother and I must have her.

Ebru: 1st interview

Her mother frequently telephoned and sent messages to Ebru:

Ebru: ...She calls me but she sends me message like THAT long [shows length with arms]mm.. For example today, let's look at today [takes out her mobile phone]
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 [laughter].

M: This is today?

Ebru: Yes!

M: This is today and it's only, what time? Quarter past one!

Ebru: Yes! And already 17.

Ebru: 1st interview

But she acknowledged that her parents were important for her. Ebru had never stayed apart from her parents before moving in. Her mother seemed to struggle with Ebru leaving home. When Ebru returned home for the *bayram*, after just two

weeks at school, her mother tried to persuade her to leave Forrest School and enrol in a local high school. At various times during the first semester, her mother suggested that they could move to Istanbul, even though she later admitted that had never been a realistic alternative.

Her father had an illness, what Ebru referred to as “the angerness disease”. He had to remain calm, she said. In an in-class English writing assignment half way through the year, where she was writing a personal narrative meant to be true, she wrote that her father was dead. She continued the death theme in the first interview, rhetorically asking what it would be like for her to be at Forrest School if her father were dead. Ebru reported that her father never telephoned her nor sent messages. It seemed a very cold father-daughter relationship. Neither parents came to school during the year to meet with teachers, in spite of Ebru’s difficulties with the transition. When the parents were contacted in the middle of the second semester about Ebru scratching her legs so hard that they bled, a form of self-harm, her parents showed no concern, blaming this on the fact that she had sensitive skin.

6.3 Relationship with her brother

Ebru adored her older brother:

My brother is my everything.

Ebru: 1st interview

It seemed they had comforted each other in the past when their parents had been arguing in the house:

When my father and my mother can’t get along too much, er.... we were always together and trying to think about, talk about other things for not hearing them.

Ebru: 1st interview

In one corridor conversation, when I asked about whether she had been able to contact her brother, she said, “You can’t hug someone via Skype”. She brought two items to the first interview which were important for her: an mp3 player, which her brother had given her; and a knitted hat, exactly the same style and colour as

a hat her mother had also knit for her brother. Her brother, in his second year at university, was living with her parents yet she never spoke to him, nor Skyped, nor sent messages: Ebru said he was too busy. Yet she clearly missed him. He had advised her to leave home and join Forrest School, explaining she might have difficult times but it would be worth it in the end. Before going home for the mid-semester holiday, she listed eight things she was looking forward to, four of which concerned her brother:

To hug my brother.

To talk with my brother.

To go out with my brother.

To go again to my brother's university.

Ebru: WR7. Translated.

Returning after the holiday, she brought back a sweater of her brother's. The relationship seemed one-sided, and each time she returned from home, she expressed disappointment that her brother had not spent much, if any, time with her, always blaming how busy he was with his university work; even so, the devotion continued throughout the year. Her attachment to him was blind and intense.

6.4 Academic competitiveness

Ebru qualified to enter Forrest School after gaining full points on the Turkish national 8th grade examinations. She was used to being an extremely successful pupil, whom others approached for help. At Forrest School, her classmates also approached her for help, but did not reciprocate:

In WhatsApp, we have got a class group and I understood that I help to everyone in my class in their lessons but when I ask them something about lessons, nobody replied me so ...

Ebru: 1st interview

It was a shock to her, for the first time in her life, to be struggling with some of her classes, especially those taught in English:

Before I came to FS, there was no topic that I wouldn't understand, but now I feel that I don't understand anything at all.

Ebru: WR2. Translated.

An even bigger shock was not to be as successful as other pupils, a feeling which consumed her:

I feel like I'm inadequate for everything. I'm good in some lessons, but knowing that I can't be the "BEST" kills me. Sometimes I ask myself why I'm living.

Ebru: personal email 14 February

She struggled in the first weeks especially and was a regular visitor to counselling where she went to cry and share how she was having difficulty understanding lessons taught in English, which made up 80% of the school day, and to share that she was lonely. All teachers seemed to know her as she would approach them, even adults who were not her teachers, looking for a shoulder to cry on. Yet her progress reports both semesters showed her to be conscientious, well-behaved and successful. However, the success was not sufficient for her.

Her main focus of the year was to regain her previous school's position as the most successful pupil in the school:

I wish for being first in EVERY exam. It seems impossible but I think if I strive enough I can do The most special thing to me is being first!

Ebru: WR8

If there was something where she realized she couldn't compete, then she wouldn't waste her time with it:

Before I came here, I used to play piano but now I don't because I think the other people are much better than me.

Ebru: 2nd interview

At a meeting of her teachers in March, almost all reported her crying when taking back test papers for review. When asked to describe the happiest time of the year, she chose a time when she was more successful than anyone else:

In our science lesson, I took a 97 and this was the happiest time [laughter] in Forrest School, I guess, 'cause, like, no one was better than me.

Ebru: 2nd interview

She enjoyed solving multiple choice tests, which was the format of the 8th grade national examinations, and missed both the format of her former study and the language of that study, as she was clearly very successful in that genre; and she questioned whether Forrest School was the right place for her:

I want to study in Turkish again.

Sometimes, I think about changing my school.

Sometimes, I feel like I'm not able to finish this school.

Ebru: personal email 14 February

One of the things she looked forward to before moving in to Forrest School was the opportunity of working in the library. Her life revolved around study. In short, Ebru was fiercely competitive and seemed happy only when she dominated her rivals in terms of academic success.

6.5 Perseverance

Ebru developed specific strategies to overcome her self-designated difficulties, mainly concerning the acquisition of English. She felt her English was inadequate and she lacked confidence. Consequently, she read a lot, watched films and soap operas in English with Turkish subtitles, listened to English songs, and reviewed her lesson notebooks each evening. She really was determined to improve. She also grabbed every opportunity to speak with English-speaking adults, to the detriment of creating and sustaining friendships:

In the residential life activities, most of my friends spend time with each other, but I try to talk with the teachers, in English, and when I am in corridors, I saw lots of prep teachers and I made a go and say it. I will learn and communicate with all the prep English teachers at least, and now they all know me and we speak everytime we see each other.

Ebru: 1st interview

The acquisition of English was important for her as she was aiming to study abroad for university. Unusually for a first year pupil at Forrest School, she visited the Overseas College Counselling Office for advice. With this aim, she persevered, often with tears of frustration and disappointment. There were also some tears of joy, for example on the last day of the first semester when she received her report card:

I thought about what I gained with being in this school, er, and I thought about science, and mathematics and other things that I like, and how I improved since I came here, so I cried a little bit the last day of first semester because of happiness.

Ebru: 1st interview

6.6 Being alone

On numerous occasions, Ebru commented on being alone, right from the beginning of the transition:

I feel so alone and I don't think I'll be good friends with someone.

Ebru: WR1

In week 4, at the end of the study hall period which I had supervised, she stayed behind to talk to me about this. She was upset and shared that she hated all the girls in the residence, that there was no one she wanted to befriend. Yet at some times, she rejoiced in loneliness:

Loneliness is the BEST thing in the world.

Ebru: WR8

She had limited experience of friendship; she stated that the only time she had friends was in 8th grade when she was preparing for the national examinations, as her peers wanted her to help them. She idolised these hometown friends, with whom she now had little contact. When I pointed out that she seemed to have friends in her class, she questioned their genuineness:

M: You have friends in your class.

Ebru: [pause] I feel like they just want to be with me, friends, because I help them in their lessons.

Ebru: 1st interview

I also pointed out that I sometimes saw her with another residential girl, Melis, but again, Ebru questioned Melis's motives:

I don't think she wants to be friends with me.... She likes me when she hasn't got someone to spend time with When she is with her other friends, she never cares about me.

Ebru: 1st interview

Even so, she fantasised about how they could be in the future:

And you know, the Jülide and Derin, the two girls going to university in Harvard: sometimes I think like, Melis and me, we can be the new Jülide and Derin!

Ebru: 1st interview

I observed her on several social occasions trying to integrate with others, but she would be gently excluded and always ended up on the sidelines. Rather than persevering in creating friends as she persevered with academics, as far as Ebru was concerned:

Friendship means NOTHING.

Ebru: WR8

Her main regret at the end of the year was that she had wasted time trying to make friends, time which could have been spent more productively:

I could solve some maths problems instead.

Ebru: WR9

Added to her limited social skills and her obsessive ambition were personal hygiene issues, all of which were obstacles to creating meaningful friendships with other residential girls. As the year progressed, Ebru accepted that she was going to be alone.

6.7 Residential life

At the end of the year, when asked to give a grade for her residential life experience, she was very clear about how she felt:

Zero. I didn't like a single thing. None of the trips. None of the activities. No need to be a residential. If I'd be a day student, I would not be that depressive. I would have more friends... So zero.

Ebru: WR9

Yet, half way through the year, she felt she was achieving something worthwhile with this major change in her life:

I'm happy to be residential when I'm fourteen years old and start living in a different place and talking in a different language [laughter] that I didn't know very well. And... I'm proud of that.

Ebru: 1st interview

However, this is one of the few positive comments she made about residential life. When asked to comment on anything she might miss during the summer, again she was frank in expressing herself:

Nothing, I believe. I don't like sharing my room with 3 noisy people, I don't like the study hall, I hate school food, I hate not seeing my brother... The residence is not my home, and the students and attendants are not my family. I can't find something to miss.

Ebru: WR9

She struggled with school food; even though she was a vegetarian, there were always suitable options provided. Scholarship children paid nothing for food but she did not regularly eat at school: she usually had breakfast at school, passed on lunch, and went off campus to a local shopping center's food court to eat French fries in the evening. She said that if she were hungry in the evening, she would just go to sleep. Personal hygiene was an issue: in March, one of the residential staff reported a success that they had persuaded her to shower once a week, but that she still remained reluctant to wash her clothes regularly.

She did not like being restricted by institutional expectations:

What annoys me is the rules that causes that I can't do what I want to do.

Ebru: WR8

Her advice for new pupils was not to be a residential pupil. The three adjectives she used to describe residential life were:

Boring, annoying, depressing.

Ebru: WR9

When asked to write what she had disliked about the school year, the first things she mentioned were indicative of what she loathed, although it also showed her success with the correct usage of English punctuation:

Girls' residence. My (?) room.....

Ebru: WR9

Her simile for residential life eloquently expressed her sense of letdown with the experience:

Residential life is like opening an ice cream box and see there's some "sarma" [stuffed vine leaves] that your mother has done, in a hot day. It's just about having big hopes, and the disappointment that comes after it.

Ebru: WR9

6.8 Summary: how smooth a transition?

Ebru struggled throughout the year. Missing her brother, and to a lesser extent her parents, the inability to make friends with other residential girls, despising others less ambitious than herself, and her competitive nature meant that she did not have a smooth transition. At the end of the year, she was still unhappy with the situation, although more hardened, less emotional and more determined in her ambitions at the school. Her reactions and emotions were extreme, almost manic. After one of Ebru's outbursts in the residence, one of the residential staff members suggested, "She seems lost. She needs a map". However, Ebru's idea of a map for her success was unique, and devoid of relationships with peers. She relied on contact with adults to support her, people who were not her competitors, but this was not sufficient to ensure a smooth transition.

Academically, Ebru transitioned well: she was conscientious, devoted to her studies, relied on by others and she made considerable progress throughout the

year. Socially, she transitioned poorly: she brought with her few social skills, a limited repertoire of emotions, an entrenched stubbornness and inflexibility, and she rejected the many opportunities for social interaction she was afforded. From a residential viewpoint, it was an uncomfortable transition: as soon as she moved in, Ebru was unhappy with the situation and this continued and solidified throughout the year. The loss of her family home, due to her parents' move to a different city, intensified the situation. The seemingly unrequited relationship with her brother deepened the sense of loss. Ebru had not adapted well.

7. Data Analysis: The Case of Mehmet

7.1 Mehmet's profile

Mehmet was a 7-day residential pupil from central Anatolia on full, means-assessed scholarship. His parents were divorced and he had a younger sibling. He was a capable musician. He entered Forrest School after achieving full scores on the 8th grade national examinations but with one of the lowest levels of English amongst his peers; at the end of the year his cumulative GPA ranked him 169th out of 220 pupils. Before moving in, he described himself as “humble, easy-going, intelligent, talented and anxious” (Mehmet: Pupil Profile, translated).

7.2 Closeness to his family

Before Mehmet moved in, he shared what/who he thought he was going to miss:

My brother and my mother.

Mehmet: Pupil Profile. Translated.

He predicted this well as there were numerous comments throughout the year, often unsolicited, about his longing to go home to see his family, specifically his younger brother, his mother and, to a lesser extent, his maternal grandparents, who had helped raise him after his parents' divorce. His four year old brother meant a great deal to him and communication technology could not meet his need for contact with him:

And every day we talk on the phone, or on Skype, but it's not the same as, like, you hug your brother and smell him.

Mehmet: 2nd interview

His mobile phone was very important for him:

Without my mobile phone, I feel a part of my body is absent.

Mehmet: WR8

I suggest this feeling is because he was dependent on it for communicating frequently with his family members.

Mehmet shared with me that his brother had recently been diagnosed with a serious illness. He had not talked to anyone else about this and he found the news overwhelming, having difficulty to concentrate in lessons at that time. When he first moved in, he brought with him one of his brother's toy cars, to remind him of his brother.

The close relationship to his mother had caused tension before the move but this tension reduced as the year went on, as he grew more independent and confident with his situation:

Mehmet: She was annoying me everything I make before I came to school because we were seeing each other, er, every day and we were living every day ...

M: Very close together.

Mehmet: Yes, close together, and it doesn't matter. She can annoy me and everything was complicated but when I came to home again, she cannot annoy me because she is missing me.

Mehmet: 1st interview

He also started to appreciate his family more:

I regret that I don't know value of my family. I'm missing them.

Mehmet: WR8

At the end of the year, what he was looking forward to most was:

To hug my family and kiss my brother.

Mehmet: WR9

Mehmet frequently talked or wrote about his love for his family; he was a sensitive and caring boy. When asked to share if there was anything he was scared about, he talked about the possibility of family members dying:

I'm not in my home and I don't know what they are making now, doing now and ... I am always scared, maybe, because I don't want death, dying of them

Mehmet: 1st interview

To combat sadness related with missing his family, he had a solution to take his mind off it:

Of course, I played the guitar!

Mehmet: 2nd interview

He missed his mother's and his grandmother's cooking; his mother would give him homemade *sarma* [stuffed vine leaves] and *poğaç* [savory pastries] to take back to the residence after a holiday to share with his friends.

7.3 Limited English proficiency

Mehmet started the year with one of the lowest proficiencies in English amongst his peers. He accepted the situation and tried hard to improve:

To be honest, my English is bad, and I do my best. I consult my friends, I try to do my homework.

Mehmet: WR4. Translated.

I observed his classmates helping him, such as translating teachers' instructions, when he needed clarification. Support from his friends continued throughout the year. He was resourceful in finding his own ways to extend his English skills:

Mehmet: And for improve my English, I read books and, er, studied on the phone with application which, er, have lots of words like TOEFL words and middle level words....

M: And did your teachers tell you to do that?

Mehmet: No. I found myself, on the Google play and I downloaded it and studied from there for vocabulary words.

Mehmet: 1st interview

He was proud of his improvement in English but regretted that his English proficiency restricted his extra-curricular opportunities:

I couldn't participate social activities because my English was bad so I was shy and afraid.

Mehmet: WR9

To his credit, he chose to conduct both interviews in English. However, forty minutes into the first interview, it was clear that he was tiring, as he was struggling to understand the questions and giving less detailed responses. At the end of the year, Mehmet admitted that he could have done more to improve; he worked hard but he had other projects too, such as his desire to improve his guitar proficiency. Even so, his English proficiency did improve, as evidenced by a raise of level in the ELTiS test compared with the start of the year.

7.4 Determination

It was not only English lessons which caused Mehmet difficulty, since the majority of classes were taught in English. He initially struggled with his Maths class too but his perseverance paid off:

In, er, beginning of the year, I was not understand lessons and, er, especially math, and you know my grade? I was, I got 42, I remember, but, em, second exam, I got 98.... And I tried very hard. I worked very hardly, very hardly.

Mehmet: 1st interview

He chose German as his second foreign language and started the year as a total beginner; at the end of the first semester, his German average was 90%, evidence of his hard work. When he entered Forrest School, he was only able to read guitar tablature, but he was determined to learn to read music, improve his guitar skills and be accepted into the school orchestra the following year. He also showed determination in persuading his mother to allow him to register to Forrest School. She wanted him to stay in their hometown, but he persisted and persuaded her to visit good schools in Istanbul, and he chose Forrest School.

7.5 Friendship

Mehmet's friendships changed during the year. At the start of the transition, his best friend was Bora who was also his classmate, someone very confident, ambitious, from an affluent family, who helped him a great deal with English. As the year continued, Mehmet became more distant from Bora whom he found intrusive at times, and closer with Turhan and Sabri, both boys on scholarship, and more religious. Sabri was in the same bedroom, sleeping in an adjacent bed:

Mehmet: Sabri is sleeping my right bed [laughter] and we always see each other. And ... it's impossible the ... er... being ... be not best friend.

M: Right.

Mehmet: Because we always together and we can tell each other our

M: Feelings?

Mehmet: Problems.

Mehmet: 1st interview

On his birthday, Mehmet was touched by his friends' thoughtfulness:

Actually, I don't want to my friends, er, buy me presents and ... like ... er... and *kutlayın* [celebrate] my birthday. But er... I don't want this but they thought so much and they bought me shoes and some of my friends buy me socks, like that ... It was good, very good and touching.

Mehmet: 2nd interview

Mehmet was a sensitive and mature boy, who could not tolerate childish pranks from his friends. He reported one occasion where a boy took the quilt off Mehmet's bed and ran into the toilet area with it. He was appalled at such insensitivity and lack of concern for hygiene.

Mehmet had some friendships which were unusual when compared with his peers. For example, in the very first week, when predicting his friends, he named 3 girls as well as 3 boys; no other boys predicted having female friends. This could be an indication of his maturity. He was also unusual in having friendships with older pupils: his musical talent meant that older pupils respected him and wanted him in their bands. Again, his maturity level and sensibility also

contributed to the formation of these relationships. He was able to maintain friendships with his hometown friends, something in which few of his peers were successful.

Even though Mehmet was popular, he was careful about not sharing too much with people until he got to know them better:

I don't want to take risk. I cannot depend on every people. Because I was having lots of friends and I was calling them best friends but they were not.

Mehmet: 1st interview

7.6 Religion

Mehmet was a practising Muslim. He fasted during Ramadan, which coincided with the last few weeks of school. He missed the scheduled interview time in June as he had fallen asleep, as his sleeping pattern had been interrupted: he tried to get up to eat before dawn but was not always successful, which meant he often went through the whole school day, until dusk, without eating or drinking. This commitment to fasting was another indication of his strong character and determination. Other pupils knew of Mehmet's beliefs as they referred to the religious stories he shared.

He was disappointed to learn that not everyone in the residence was equally respectful of religious beliefs. He felt he had not been respected when a residential staff member found and chastised Mehmet, Turhan and Sabri who were praying together in their room:

After one day, he called us and said, "You shouldn't pray in the residence together.... Because your friends can ...er... can be disturbed by you." And I said, "Every day they talk in ... er.... sessiz saat [silent hour], you know... and when the sleeping time came, they are always screaming and talking and you don't warning them, but once you saw us while we were praying, you come and suddenly, you warning us, don't pray together".

Mehmet: 2nd interview

Pupils were allowed to pray individually in their rooms but not collectively; a prayer room in school had to be provided by the Ministry of Education decree, but there was no such place in the residence. Mehmet felt it unfair to be chastised for something he felt should be allowed. He said he was praying to be able to attend

a good university, and that he thanked God for his opportunity of attending Forrest School.

7.7 Residential Life

Mehmet adapted well to residential life, after an initial stage of missing his family intensely. He quickly accepted that others were different:

There are lots of people who are coming different places and, er, everyone has different characters, er, and I am understanding people's feelings more, and ... like... empathy... And I was surprised when I came here because there's lots of cultural differences.

Mehmet: 1st interview

Since he had stayed away from home previously when preparing for the national entrance examinations, he did not mind sharing a bedroom, bathroom and other facilities. However, the behaviour of other residential pupils sometimes dumbfounded him, such as boys wanting to keep a light on in the room when sleeping, or a disagreement about whether or not the window should be kept open:

I say, "I am sick. Can you close the window?" And they say, "No. It's hot." I say, "But I am sick. It's more important than the hot." And they doesn't, don't listen.

Mehmet: 2nd interview

He was proud to be at Forrest School:

It is everyone's dream to attend Forrest School, so I am quite lucky. Besides, after graduation or during further studies, it gives great prestige to reply "FS" when someone asks which school we attended. This is a school of good reputation.

Mehmet: WR1. Translated.

He considered himself fortunate to have residential status:

I am also lucky to be a residential student. I can establish more relationships with friends, and it is fun.

Mehmet: WR1. Translated.

He stated that he was content with the residential rules, and he appreciated the structure yet also the degree of freedom and flexibility that was given, which helped him adapt.

7.8 Summary: how smooth a transition?

There were lots of reasons why Mehmet might have struggled with the transition: he was very close to his family, whom he missed sorely; he had low English language proficiency and so found lessons challenging, as most subjects were taught in the medium of English; he was from a religiously conservative background and was exposed to very different beliefs and practices in the residence; and he was naturally shy and sensitive. Yet, Mehmet did not struggle with the transition; instead, he thrived. He built strong friendships: his musical talent, as well as his maturity, meant, unusually, that he made good connections with older residential pupils. He considered girls as well as boys his friends, which was striking amongst his peers; he was a popular pupil. He managed to maintain his relationship with his hometown friends, even though they were experiencing a very different style of education. He set himself realistic targets, and reached them. He searched for and found sensible solutions to challenges he confronted.

Mehmet's sincerity, maturity and warm-heartedness shone through. He was proud of reaching Forrest School and planned on attending a world-class university four years later. He had a vision for his future. Forrest School afforded him opportunities he wanted and he took them humbly. For the most part, he was happy and content.

8. Data Analysis: The Case of Melis

8.1 Melis's profile

Melis was a 7-day residential pupil from a large city. Her parents were divorced and she was an only child. She had rare contact with her father from the age of four, until she was admitted to Forrest School, when Melis thought his interest in her changed: on the day she moved in, for example, he unexpectedly travelled to Istanbul to see her. She was on partial scholarship due to her family's financial circumstances. Unlike most pupils, she had not planned on applying to Forrest School: it was only after she learned she had a full score on the 8th grade national entrance examinations that a neighbour suggested the option. Thus, she had very little time to prepare psychologically for the move from her home, her mother and her friends.

8.2 Academics and ambition

Melis wanted "to be able to speak and understand English as though it were my native language" (Melis: Pupil Profile, translated), an ambition which she shared prior to moving to Forrest School. Another ambition was to go to university abroad. Thus, she started her Forrest School career with very high expectations, yet cognisant of the possibility that she could be "unsuccessful when compared with other pupils" (Melis: Pupil Profile, translated). Throughout the year, Melis reiterated that her focus was on academics and that:

Success is everything.

Melis: WR9

Her end-of-year average was 94.18% and she was ranked 26 out of the 222 pupils in her year group, so she was academically successful. When asked to share a happy time at Forrest School, she chose one related with academics:

When I get good grades.

Melis: 2nd interview

Her teachers were pleased with her progress, attitude and work ethics, her German teacher describing her as “a model student”. Some referred to insufficient confidence in her own abilities, some anxiety over grades and underestimating herself. Adjectives like quiet, shy, respectful and responsible were frequently seen on her quarterly progress reports.

Melis liked studying and disliked interruptions: for example, when her mother called, she refused to answer the phone if she was studying. However, she was working excessively, seven hours in the evening after classes finished:

I sacrifice lots of things ... I rest only one hour. Sometimes I don't ... and I just eat my dinner quickly, don't talk with my friends, don't want to listen to music, talk on the phone...

Melis: 2nd interview

She was putting excessive pressure on herself:

M: But you should also have some fun as well.

Melis: Yes, I should but I can't. I feel like I have to, er, stick to ... like, er, I feel like I don't have permission to go out when I have an exam....

Melis: 2nd interview

She felt that she needed to do even more work; she had started to develop physical symptoms of stress, and was feeling upset in class:

Even though I don't play games or watch TV series, I cannot study fully. I get very stressed, my entire body itches, and I can barely refrain from crying in class.

Melis: WR6. Translated.

Returning to school after the two-week mid-year holiday was upsetting for her, not just because of leaving home, but also because of looming classroom assessments:

The first day is not very good at all ...It's not missing my mum only. Like ...er.... I ... caring about lessons too muchem.... It's just like anxiety about something else. I feel terrible when my teachers say me “We have quiz tomorrow” [laughter]. My heart starts beating fastly

Melis: 1st interview

In short, Melis was academically successful, which her teachers all appreciated, and highly ambitious. However, her unhealthy obsession with studying, grades and academic success was exerting huge pressure, causing physical, as well as psychological, reactions.

8.3 Friendship

Melis was popular with other residential pupils, and had friends. She was elected for the Residential Life Council, a prestigious group of residential pupils from all levels. In class, she was often asked for help by her peers, who appreciated her intellectual ability. On the one hand, she had a positive view of her peer relationships:

Friendships are good here.

Melis: 2nd interview

One of her happiest memories was the Friday movie nights with the other girls in the lounge. Yet she said that she distrusted her friends, and her advice for newcomers was for them not to share their secrets. She did not open up with her friends:

I don't share my feelings with my friends.

Melis: 1st interview

These mixed messages could be a sign of her confusion and inner conflict, and an indication of her trust avoidance. She also experienced disappointment with her hometown friendships when she went back for the *bayram*:

It is as if I put up a wall between us. We used to talk and laugh all the time in the past, but this time we only kept silent. It was as if we were distanced. I felt very sorry because we had been friends since we were born.

Melis: WR3. Translated.

Towards the end of the year, her closest friend at Forrest School stopped spending time and talking with her because Melis had started a strict diet which her friend thought was unhealthy.

8.4 Food

Throughout the year, Melis made a number of references to food. I asked her outright about her nutrition when she confided that her friend had stopped speaking to her because of her diet:

M: Are you eating enough, Melis?

Melis: Yes.

M: You are?

Melis: Yes, because I am sitting all the time. I don't need lots of calories.... [long pause]
...and I'm eating light, not less.

Melis: 2nd interview

At the start of the year, when she went back home for the *bayram*, she said that the worst part of going home was that she gained three kilos. The best part about returning to the residence, however, was that her eating pattern could return to normal. When asked for 5 adjectives to describe herself, she gave only three, one of which was "impatient", explaining that her impatience was due to the fact that it was nearly evening snack-time. At the end of the year, she said that what she was most looking forward to when going home was:

Good meals.

Melis: WR9

None of these comments seem suspicious or especially disturbing in themselves but they were some of the seeds which led to her diagnosed eating disorder that summer.

8.5 Connection with her mother

Melis missed her mother a great deal. She made a conscious effort not to bring anything from home with emotional ties, nor have any photographs of her mother in her room or even on her mobile phone, as she did not want to be reminded of her, the woman who had raised and cared for her single-handedly for the previous ten years:

I don't think that it will be of any benefit to us to constantly remember the things that are far away from us, other than upsetting us.

Melis: WR3. Translated.

And she quoted the Turkish idiom:

Far from the eyes, far from the heart.

Melis: 2nd interview. Translated.

She believed that the strategy helped her. She was philosophical that she would get used to the separation:

It would be stupid in any case to try to dismiss my mother from my mind, my mother with whom I shared the same house since I was born. But one gets used to everything with time.

Melis: WR4. Translated.

Her mother communicated with Melis daily: a message each morning, and then she called Melis in the evening. By mid-year, Melis had stopped calling her mother when she was upset. In many respects, Melis was pragmatic and logical. However, there was guilt that she left her mother behind, especially when her mother's new partner reneged on a promise:

What annoys me is SOMEONE left my mom and me but it doesn't matter with me, I have my own life there...before I came here he just promised to me to look after my mom but he just left.

Melis: WR8

When considering the option of Forrest School, her mother was against it and they argued a lot, with frequent tears from Melis. In light of this, it is interesting that her mother "mistakenly" brought Melis to register her the day before the registration day, and was unable to stay for the actual registration day due to work commitments. She had to authorize a friend to register Melis at the school on the appointed day. Melis and her mother clearly had a close relationship:

The most special thing to me is my mom's love.

Melis: WR8

Before going home for a week's holiday, Melis shared one of the things she was really looking forward to:

To sleep while I am hugging my mother.

Melis: WR7. Translated.

Two months after starting the school, her aunt died which made Melis think about her mother's mortality and she voluntarily went to see her school counsellor. Towards the end of the year, Melis shared that she had started arguing with her mother, that she didn't understand Melis.

8.6 Distaste for residential life

Melis was very unhappy to be living at the school, sharing a room with four other girls. When asked at the end of the year to rate her experience as a residential pupil, she gave a minus three and added in explanation:

This was the worst year of my life.

Melis: WR9

As much as possible, at weekends Melis stayed with her Istanbul parent, a family friend. Returning to the residence on a Sunday evening or after a holiday was a traumatic experience for her:

I want to die when I have to come back after the breaks, like... The semester break was terrible. Sundays..... I hate Sundays.

Melis: 1st interview

When asked to provide a simile for her experience, she shared:

Residential life is like living in prison.

Melis: WR9

The lack of privacy was an issue, which is understandable since she had lived alone with her mother for ten years, as was the inconsiderate behaviour of other residential pupils:

I really get very irritated when I face some situations where the informal atmosphere in the residence is abused, for example when my friends in other rooms show up unexpectedly in the middle of the room. Because, when they come in, we may be in inappropriate attire (getting dressed after taking a bath), or engaged in studying.

Melis: WR1. Translated.

Noise was another issue. She repeatedly referred to others talking loudly on the telephone in the residence, and in her shared room: it disturbed her studying but she was also uncomfortable hearing the personal conversations of others. She objected to pupils using their laptops in bed after “lights out”, which was against the residential rules, as the light and noise disturbed her sleep; in general, she had a very clear sense of right and wrong. There were times when she was happy to spend time with her friends, but these times became fewer as the year went on, with her preferring to be alone, or away from the residence at her Istanbul parent’s home.

Melis recognized that there were some benefits from residential life, namely learning to do her own washing and ironing, organizing her time, and managing money. However, the disadvantages outweighed any advantages for her.

Living in such close proximity to others, the lack of privacy, the noise of 84 other girls, having her studying disturbed, and being away from her mother were all major issues for Melis. It is interesting to note that when asked for advice to give newcomers to residential life, she did not advise them against coming to the school. It appears that she believed this “sacrifice” was worth it since the benefits for her future were obvious to her, as she stated at the beginning of the year:

I realize that, if I can graduate from this school, it will be of a great benefit to me.

Melis: WR1

8.7 A troubled soul

Melis was unhappy very shortly after she moved in to the school:

When I first came here, it was terrible. Like, I'm homesick, I guess. It was very terrible. I wanted to die [pause]. Terrible.

Melis: 2nd interview

She tried various techniques to try and squash these feelings, such as finding distractions:

When my mom came to my mind, I started to think about other things like er... lessons, or my new friends here, or my class mates, or something else. For example, I go to toilet and wash my hands, or something....

Melis: 1st interview

She reported that she cried frequently each day in the first two months. One unsolicited comment showed her awareness that she needed help:

I feel a need to consult the counselling service.

Melis: WR7. Translated.

She saw her school counsellor in the first semester a few times, but not in the second semester. In addition, in the first semester, she tried three different external psychologists, but decided:

OK! I can fix it myself...

Melis: 2nd interview

By the middle of the year, she was no longer calling her mother when she was sad and upset:

I start to cry first of all, and I want to talk with someone else, like It's normally my mum but I don't want to call her anymore because when I call her, she's always says the same thing: "Oh, OK. It will go." And I say, NO! I want to hear something different.

Melis: 1st interview

At times, she felt like someone else was inside her, trying to control her:

I feel like sometimes something has got inside me. It's not me! Our secret or something else... er... er.... some Muslims call it *cin* [spirit].... [laughter].

Melis: 1st interview

In addition to reducing her food intake, she had also reduced her sleep. The school started at 8am but she was setting her alarm for 6.17am. On the one hand, it could be said that she was behaving responsibly by changing her habits; on the other hand, getting up so unnecessarily early is another form of control.

8.8 Summary: how smooth a transition?

Melis, a very private person, was unable to adapt easily during her first year as a residential pupil. Not sharing her feelings with her friends, giving the impression to her teachers that all is well, and seeing three different psychologists in one semester suggest an inability to trust and a need to keep hidden her inner experiences.

In some ways, Melis is like a swan: apparently calm, serene and successful on the surface but underneath, her feet are paddling furiously to stay afloat and maintain the calm appearance. She is mature and self-aware, and has tried to find ways to keep herself busy and submerge the disturbing thoughts. Academically successful, yet she has irrational worries when a quiz is on the horizon. Her excessive studying means that she has reduced social opportunities, little patience with other residential pupils, and little time to eat.

The sudden decision to move to Forrest School meant that she had no time to process the move and the wrench from her mother was traumatic. The relationship with her mother transformed during the year with Melis needing her less and less, since she wasn't able to give what Melis craved.

This was the worst year of her life, according to Melis. While by the end of the year, she seemed more settled in her routines, self-regulated and less emotional, but control issues had come to the fore. Transition to the new academic system had been achieved but adjustment to residential life was neither smooth nor resolved.

9. Data Analysis: The Case of Nesrin

9.1 Nesrin's profile

Nesrin was a 5-day residential student. Her hometown was sufficiently close so that she could travel home each weekend. She was an only child. Her parents had professional careers, paying the full tuition fees. Nesrin was the one who wanted to leave her hometown and enrol at Forrest School; her parents accepted this since it was what she wanted. Her parents seemed consistently supportive of their child's choices. Nesrin was very interested in computer games and related activities. At the end of the year, her GPA ranked her 167th out of 220 students; her English level was not the reason for her low ranking.

9.2 Relationship with her parents

Nesrin's relationship with her parents improved after moving to Forrest School:

Nesrin: I think we are more close.

M: Ah!

Nesrin: Because I was playing PC at home usually so I couldn't see them much. Then we have just 2 days for a week so I'm spending my time with my family more than other years. So I think our bond is more stronger.

Nesrin: 2nd interview

Previously, she had been allowed to shut herself in her room to play computer games, with limited interaction with her parents. She believed that since becoming a residential student, she was spending more time with her parents, going home at the weekends. In particular, she became closer to her mother after the move to Istanbul:

I tell her everything after I came here. I wasn't talking to her much in XXX, but it changed, like, when I came here. I tell her about, like, my love life, something, I don't know why. But she keeps listening and it makes me happy.

Nesrin: 1st interview

It appears that their parenting style allowed Nesrin a lot of freedom to choose what she wanted to do and when she wanted to do it. Since her parents were

affluent, they were able to cosset her: for example, whenever there was a fancy dress opportunity during the year, Nesrin had a special costume. Right before moving in, she had just returned from a holiday in the Far East, because of her interest in computer games and Asian cartoon characters. Nesrin had an unusually high absence rate for a residential student, nine days in total, another hint at her parents' willingness to follow their daughter's wishes, in this case to stay home rather than be back in school on Sunday night. Her parents' approach and unconditional love helped in making Nesrin confident, independent, self-sufficient, carefree and somewhat quirky.

During the year, two incidents involving her parents were significant in terms of understanding Nesrin's upbringing and the parental style she had experienced. Quite early in the first semester, there was an academic honesty issue where Nesrin had copied and pasted from the Internet without citing sources. From an educational perspective, it was a teachable moment and nothing serious, but her father was so concerned that he cancelled his work commitments, travelled from his hometown and arrived without an appointment. He was reluctant to accept that his daughter had made a mistake; he was tearful, and it was clear that he was really missing his daughter, even though she returned home every weekend. Later in the year, Nesrin was a victim of head lice; both day and residential students were infested. Her mother was incredulous that this could happen at as prestigious a school as Forrest School. In short, both parents were reluctant to accept anything which showed their daughter to be outside of their perceived normality. In contrast, they never demonstrated a concern for her underachieving academic performance.

9.3 A free spirit

Nesrin was used to doing things her own way and the collaborative nature of Forrest School was a challenge for her:

I really struggle with group works 'cause, er, I want to do everything myself, usually, 'cause, you know, it's hard work with people you don't know very well.

Nesrin: 1st interview

She had a relaxed attitude to her lessons, even subjects where she was barely passing. Her English teacher referred to Nesrin's "divergent thinking" which caused problems when she was expected to follow certain writing structures, for example. Seeing other residential girls working hard helped Nesrin realise that she should also be doing some work:

When I see my residence friends who study, it motivates me to study as well. Especially Gamze works very hard. When I watch her, I feel that I must also work.

Nesrin: WR4. Translated.

In the second semester, she worked more consistently and her grades improved somewhat; she started to understand and accept that she was in an academic environment, somewhere she wanted to remain as she was proud to be at Forrest School:

I'm feeling important cuz I'm in this huge gorgeous perfect school. All of us is smart and deserves to be here so we are equal, that's why I feel normal.

Nesrin: WR1

Her Turkish teacher commented in her progress report that Nesrin needed to pay more attention to school rules and expectations, and her Mathematics teacher expressed frustration at Nesrin not doing her homework regularly. Her rank at the end of the year and her grades showed that she had not fulfilled her academic potential. She achieved a lower score on the June ELTiS test, than she did ten months previously, indicating an apparent regression in English language proficiency. Yet her advice for new residential students was:

Don't think about your grades too much. Go out, have some fun, and learn Istanbul.

Nesrin: WR9

She arrived late to the first interview, carrying take-away noodles, both choices being indications of her relaxed approach and pushing against accepted norms. Before moving in, she was asked to provide five adjectives to describe herself, and these are indicative of her outlook:

Friendly, a source of joy, cute, lives for the moment, funny.

Nesrin: Pupil Profile. Translated.

Her ambition in life was to be famous. The sentence-completing activity (WR8) also showed her free spirit:

I wish for the day with no stress, and happiness. I want to be free about my right and decisions.

Nesrin: WR8

At the end of the year, her English teacher shared an explanation of why Nesrin occasionally became frustrated: “she finds it surprising that the world simply does not work the way it does in her head”.

9.4 Recreational computer use

Before moving to Forrest School, Nesrin was playing computer games in her room so much that she was seeing little of her parents. When asked to complete a survey before moving in about what sports she played, she wrote “e-sports”, meaning computer games. When she went home for the *bayram* holiday, after the first two weeks of school, she did not leave the house, only interacting with friends via computer games. A related hobby was “cosplay”, dressing up as characters from Japanese and other Asian teenager online, cartoon and comic book pop cultures.

At Forrest School, Nesrin lost this gaming opportunity as Internet sites she regularly used were blocked. Even so, she found ways to play an hour a day of computer games during the week. The one residential rule which she thought should be changed at Forrest School concerned the unblocking of Internet gaming sites. One of the main things she was looking forward to when going home for a week’s holiday was having her computer open all the time and playing games which she was banned from accessing at school.

9.5 Residential Life

Even though Nesrin was from an affluent family who indulged her, she did not experience any problems adjusting to sharing a bedroom and facilities with other

girls. In fact, Nesrin enjoyed the company of others and did not miss the lack of privacy:

M: What about privacy? Where can you go in the residence if you want to be alone?

Nesrin: Em, I don't want that kind of place. No. But I love being with people.

Nesrin: 1st interview

The one attitude she could not tolerate in her peers was hypocrisy, specifically girls saying one thing but acting another way. She appreciated that living away from home with her peers had changed her for the better:

Forrest School made me social. When I was in XXX I just didn't go outside and played [computer games] at home. I wasn't doing any sports either. In Forrest School I go out with my friends like all the time. And I have found new interests.

Nesrin: WR5

She was now playing basketball, with the hope of being selected for the team the following year, and she had tried out for, and been accepted into, two serious clubs: choir and debate. Her new residential friends helped her adjust to and relax into the new way of life:

Because of my friends when I'm staying here I feel at home.

Nesrin: WR1

She referred to them as being like her family:

My friends became like family to me.

Nesrin: WR4. Translated.

Sometimes she had disagreements with her friends who really hurt her:

Er.... I think I'm not trusting people that easily because, er, I trusted people this year and sometimes they broke my heart but I think everything can be fixed if you are a close friend.

Nesrin: 2nd interview

However, she always found a way of dealing with any conflict and eventually finding a solution. She was particularly close to one of her roommates, Suzan,

whom she talked about with great affection and she valued the time they spent together. She had an interesting simile for her experience:

Residential life is like a rollercoaster. You still want to move on and learn with your experiences but you don't want to leave the safe place before ride starts.

Nesrin: WR9

This implies excitement, new experiences and risk-taking. It may explain why Nesrin adjusted so well and so quickly to residential life as her free spirit seemed to respond to such conditions.

9.6 Summary: how smooth a transition?

Nesrin adjusted well to residential life at Forrest School. Coming from a family which supported her independent streak and her choices, she settled quickly and made new friends. Nesrin felt secure when moving in, a confident soul. Not fulfilling her potential academically was no detriment for Nesrin; she did not fret hugely about relatively low grades and her parents did not put pressure on her to rectify the situation. She learned to collaborate with others in the classroom and through the club activities she chose.

Interestingly, according to Nesrin, the relationship with her parents improved because of her separation from them, meaning that the shorter amount of time at home each week resulted in more meaningful, concentrated interactions. The structure of Forrest School and the lack of opportunity to spend time feeding her computer gaming habit opened up other opportunities for her. Being part of two serious clubs, requiring significant commitment, meant that her time was more structured and she observed effort and consequence. Her new interest in real sport, rather than previous "e-sport", opened up other avenues for her.

10. Data Analysis: The Written Responses

The Written Responses (WRs) were asked from all 34 participants and provide rich data, in answer to the questions posed for each response. Unlike a diary or a journal, where individuals' unstructured and random thoughts can be recorded, these were structured skeletons for the participants to flesh out with their directed responses.

10.1 Challenges for transition

10.1.1 Longing for family and home

It was no surprise to discover pupils missing their family. Generally speaking, family ties in Turkey are very strong:

My family = My everything.

Yoel: WR2. Translated.

Almost every pupil commented that the worst part of returning to the residence after the *bayram* holiday, which fell two weeks after the start of the academic year, was the re-separation from family. However, pupils reacted with differing degrees of intensity to separation. Some adjusted quite quickly, such as Mina whose comment is from the end of the first week:

I miss those faces that I used to see every day, but I am getting used to this quickly.

Mina: WR1. Translated.

Some pupils' deep-rooted connection to and longing for family members never dissipated throughout the year, such as Ebru's obsession with her older brother and Melis's relationship with her mother. One 7-day pupil advised newcomers against frequent trips home:

Don't go home too often because it increases *özlem* [longing] against your family.

Gamze: WR9

Sometimes, family members did not help their child who was dealing with the separation, since they were also trying to process the separation:

When I said farewell to my family before boarding the bus, my mother and my maternal grandmother wept. This upset me a little.

Mehmet: WR3. Translated.

Other families were more conscious of keeping their emotions in check, and expressing their confidence in their child:

My family members do not show their sadness; they smile and they support me; if they didn't do this, I couldn't cope. My family's faith in me facilitates things.

Taylan: WR4. Translated.

Some pupils felt they owed a debt to their family and had to succeed as a consequence. In many cases, being away from family helped the pupils understand the value of their family:

I really really missed them and I understood that I couldn't live without them.

Elize: WR5

Since they had to do certain chores in the residence, such as washing their clothes, ironing, making their bed and so on, many also realised and appreciated what had been done for them at home. This was what Ada enjoyed when she was at home for the *bayram* holiday:

Washed and ironed clothes by MUM!

Ada: WR3

In many cases, pupils thought relationships with their family, especially their parents, improved with the distance put between them:

I feel like I'm separated from my family, but actually, I got closer to them.

Sabri: WR1. Translated.

Sometimes events at home happened which caused pupils distress; the distance from home meant an inability to experience events communally, to communicate effectively, or to understand what had happened. For example, when Mina's

grandmother died unexpectedly, it was traumatic for her as she did not have the chance to say goodbye:

I can't stop thinking about her and this is the worst moment of my "15 years long life" when I heard her death. I was shocked. I can't describe what were my feelings.

Mina: WR9

Many pupils expressed that they missed their home, not just their family. Missing their own bed and their own room was common, for example. Tied in to this was the silence of home, compared with the residence. For some, the loss of regular contact with family and hometown friends caused self-doubt and even distress:

I didn't like to sleep in school, not having my own room, being away from home and people I have known my whole life, and losing the idea of who I am, my likes and dislikes.

Aysel: WR9

Missing family and home was an issue for every pupil, at different levels of intensity.

10.1.2 Communal living

Communal living demanded certain types of behaviour. Since there were up to six pupils in a room, they were not guaranteed individual choices which would have an effect on roommates, such as sleeping with the window open (Aysel). Other home-based options they missed included taking a bath (Sabri), as there were only showers in the residence; being alone (Suzan); or studying while listening to loud music without headphones (Aysel). There were many new situations to adapt to in this new way of life:

I learned to live with a crowd.

Taylan: WR5. Translated.

A couple of pupils felt very strongly that their situation in no way mirrored family life:

The residence is not my home, and the students and attendants are not my family.

Ebru: WR9

At times, there were practical difficulties with communal life. The limited number of bathroom facilities was an issue and institutional reminders such as light sensors causing the lights to go off when sitting still. Sometimes, simple, home experiences were missed. When asked what she was looking forward to when going home for the holiday, one pupil shared an interesting desire, which reflected the bare floors in the residence, and possibly the level of cleanliness:

Walking bare feet or maybe in socks (I know it's weird but I always wear flip-flops at the residence).

Alev: WR7

With so many living together, there have to be rules, procedures and specific expectations for all. Most pupils accepted and understood the reasoning behind such rules. Occasionally, having to conform to behave in certain ways which they were not used to caused some difficulty:

Having responsibilities is OK but having to be tidy is the worst part.

Bora: WR3

Many students disliked not being able to access the Internet after "lights out", not being allowed to speak on the telephone after 10pm, and some disliked not having the freedom to play computer games whenever they wished.

Both residences at Forrest School had few opportunities for privacy since there was limited space and maximum occupancy. Outside the residence, there were lots of opportunities for privacy due to the large campus, but after "check time" in the evening until the following morning, everyone was enclosed on either two or three floors. Many pupils referred to a lack of privacy:

Life in the residence reduces privacy to the minimum level. Not only physically, but our opinions and thoughts are also disclosed.

Melis: WR1. Translated.

The reality of being with and feeling they were watched by others was often mentioned:

What annoys me is can't being alone. Because there is always one person annoying and watching me when I am doing something. It disturbs me.

Taylan: WR8

Many pupils referred to the difficulty of having private conversations with family and non-residential friends:

My roommate always got herself in whatever I made, and even my Skype calls. It was way too pressurizing.

Suzan: WR9

The lack of privacy extended to physical privacy. Emre, for example, changed his clothes in a bathroom cubicle for the whole of the first semester.

Many pupils commented on their residential peers not respecting them sufficiently. Some were very sensitive about others interfering with their personal items in their rooms:

What annoys me is someone touching my belongings (table books pens BED).

Ali: WR8

Others disliked when their peers from other rooms entered uninvited into their bedroom and disturbed them. Others felt that their beliefs were not sufficiently respected.

In many communal environments, noise can be an issue, and Forrest School's residences were no exception with it being a recurrent theme. Frequently, pupils commented that noise disturbed their study:

What annoys me is someone playing guitar when I working.

Yusuf: WR8

Others found that noise disturbed their sleep. Yoel's metaphor for residential life gives a strong indication of the level of noise in the boys' residence:

Residential life is like trying to listen music without headphones in a big loud environment.

Yoel: WR9

The number of references to lack of sleep was astounding. Nineteen pupils, 56% of the participants, chose a word related with “tired” as one of five adjectives to describe themselves at the end of week two (WR2). To be sure, they had had an intense programme, physically, intellectually and psychologically, as a result of their first two weeks at Forrest School. However, references to lack of sleep continued in subsequent weeks. Many pupils mentioned sleep as one of the things they were most looking forward to when going home for the holidays. Even so, a number of students recommended that their bedtime be extended so that they would have more time to study. These were very competitive and ambitious pupils: there was no connection in their minds between feeling tired and needing to sleep more.

In many cases, the topic of food was intrinsically linked to their memories of being with their family. In Turkey, there is still the practice of the whole family sitting together for meals, so the connection between food and family is very natural. Eating communally was not an expectation at Forrest School which meant that pupils like Aysel could get away with eating only lunch. Kerim realized that he lost weight in the first two weeks and decided to be more careful to have a balanced diet from then onwards. Nuri never referred to food in his WRs but he was asked to leave the residence for a number of months due to his eating disorder; he returned when his weight and his eating routine were more healthy. Lara’s family sent her homemade food, which had a positive effect on her. Many pupils shared that what they were most looking forward to in the upcoming holiday was homemade food. Food was a popular topic in the WRs, initiated by the pupils.

Some pupils adapted quicker than others to living communally. By the end of the year, a few pupils still struggled with and resisted communal living.

10.1.3 Academic concerns and competition

All classes at Forrest School contained pupils with different levels of English language proficiency. This meant that for pupils with low levels of English, they were continuously exposed to pupils with higher levels of English, and this could be intimidating, especially at the beginning of the year:

My English is worse than all others' in the class. I almost don't understand anything. I am very scared of not understanding anything for the entire year. I have been very stressed these past days. My hands always used to get sweaty because of physical conditions and because of stress. They have been sweaty for days. I am so stressed, because, when everybody else laughs at jokes in class, I only stare blankly.

Turhan: WR1. Translated.

Turhan was not alone in such feelings. However, by week five, a number of pupils commented that they could see a difference in their understanding of English. They succeeded because they were aware of the problem, were motivated to change and had acquired the necessary skills to change.

All pupils had been extremely successful in their previous schools and, indeed, gained full points on the Turkish national 8th grade examinations. So it was a shock for them to discover at Forrest School that high grades were not automatic. Especially for those who started the year with a low level of English, such as Aysel, getting low grades was demoralizing. Some girls studied excessively, such as Aysel, Melis and Ebru: their study habits resulted in high grades but did not equate contentment.

The competition to get into Forrest School had been huge and competition to succeed continued. Some students thrived on such intensity:

There are a lot of people here who are talented in many ways and I like competing with them.

Bora: WR5

Ebru's goal was to be first in everything whereas Yoel stated that what he disliked most about the whole year was that sense of competition in everything, including sports and clubs. This competition made some feel inadequate:

I feel like I never have enough time; like everyone else studies more, everyone can do everything, and I am the only one who is unable to do so.

Ezgi: WR3. Translated.

Competition was fierce.

10.1.4 Travel

Being a residential pupil at Forrest School inevitably involved long distance travel since they all lived outside Istanbul. The majority of pupils did not have family members transporting them; they had to learn to take the bus or the aeroplane, and struggle with Istanbul's infamous traffic. Many students referred to travel as the worst part of their *bayram* holiday experience. The difficulty of travelling usually alone with a heavy suitcase for a fourteen year old should not be underestimated:

I suppose to use the subway and its so crowded, hot, a bit terrified.

Lara: WR3

In respect of travel, it seemed that the 5-day pupils had a more difficult time than the 7-day pupils since they were travelling to/from home every weekend.

10.2 Scaffolds to ease transition

10.2.1 Community building

Doing tasks together helped build the sense of community:

Friendship means doing the laundry together.

Ada: WR8

There was an expectation to support peers. Most pupils felt strong support from their peers, support given willingly:

When someone miss her family, we try to change her thoughts.

Rüya: WR4

Some were well aware of their responsibilities with regards to showing consideration when living communally:

We live as a community. No one is in her own house or her own room. Therefore we must think before we do something, and demonstrate respect to others.

Gamze: WR1. Translated.

Fourteen pupils used the term “family” to describe how they felt about residential life; both genders shared this feeling. This especially emerged when giving a metaphor for residential life, such as:

Residential life is like living in a house with 83 sisters, 3 aunts and 2 moms.

Suzan: WR8

Friends were often compared to sisters or brothers:

Residential life is like a family, you get to know your friends like your siblings.

Kadriye: WR8

Leyla felt that Forrest School, not just the residence, felt like a family, and the sense of community helped her deal with the separation from her own family.

There was no reference in any WR prompt suggesting the similarity of residential life and family life so it is significant that so many pupils identified a connection.

10.2.2 Support provided by residential staff and older pupils

Residential staff were mentioned frequently as people who helped the pupils adjust to their new life. In particular, the residential advisers, who were Forrest School graduates now studying at university, were greatly appreciated, either for helping them with their studies, playing sport together, or spending time talking things through with them.

Many pupils commented on how they enjoyed the residential activities which were organised. These were provided so as to help the pupils acclimatise to Istanbul, as well as to encourage bonding amongst the group. The carefully planned orientation programme also allowed opportunities for pupils to make friends, find common interests and be active. Mehmet commented on the staff's success in the area of keeping the pupils busy in the first weeks:

One doesn't have time to think about home and to be upset. FS is really good from this aspect (orientation, etc.)

Mehmet: WR4. Translated.

Older residential students were a source of support, whether with academics, or with talking through how the newcomers were feeling. Sometimes a good connection was made between pupils from the same city and they could travel home together for holidays. The 10th grade mentors who had been assigned to the newcomers before they moved to Forrest School had also helped allay some worries before they moved in.

10.2.3 Contentment with residential life

At the end of the first week of school, the majority of the pupils were extremely happy with their new life:

Presently I am incredibly happy. It is wonderful to be a boarder. My room, my friends and the residence are all very good.

Taylan: WR1. Translated.

At the end of the year, many students were still happy:

I have never loved school as much as I do here. Even though it is very hard, Forrest School is the best place I have ever been. And I am as happy as I have never been here!

Ezgi: WR9

Nejat considered residential life to be addictive:

Residential life is like a cake. When you take a slice you got addicted and want more slices. All ingredients are perfect.

Nejat: WR9

While some pupils disliked being surrounded by so many others in the residence, for those who came from a large extended family, the opposite was true. Many pupils repeatedly expressed how much fun they experienced being a residential pupil, often with specific examples:

In the mornings, when I open my eyes, seeing funny faces of my friends that don't want to get up is great.

Nuri: WR9

A few pupils preferred what the school had to offer over what they had at home. Suzan, for example, preferred her bed in the residence to her bed at home, as it was softer. Elize loved her large desk. Pupils like Ezgi appreciated the independence from families which residential life afforded them:

The best thing about returning to the dorm is to be always with people my age, and to be relieved of family pressure. For example, we don't have to constantly ask for permission to go somewhere or to do something.

Ezgi: WR3. Translated.

At the end of the year, pupils were asked to give a mark out of ten for their residential life experience:

Table 2: Mean scores (out of 10) for residential life experience (WR9) according to category	
All pupils	6.92
All girls	5.89
All boys	8.03
All 5-day pupils	6.55
All 7-day pupils	6.74
5-day female pupils	7.00
5-day male pupils	7.30
7-day female pupils	5.42
7-day male pupils	8.18

The results suggest that boys were more content with residential life than girls; the lowest seven marks were from girls. It is interesting to note that the highest level of contentment was from 7-day boys and the lowest level from 7-day girls. It is even more interesting to compare their level of contentment with their academic ranking at the end of the year (Appendix J): it is 7-day girls who dominate the highest academic ranks among residential students, and 7-day boys who dominate the bottom ranks. So the most academically successful students were also the most unhappy with residential life.

10.2.4 Openness to new opportunities and experiences

Numerous pupils commented on the new experiences they had encountered, in a positive way. Being able to manage their allowance from their parents was an achievement, using automatic teller machines. Learning what to do when they felt ill was another achievement. Even something as mundane as doing the laundry was an opportunity to be gained, compared with day pupils. Many students commented on doing their laundry as a challenge, and a success in many cases:

I'm so proud of myself that I've never turned my black stuffs into disgusting kind-of-grey color.

Ada: WR5

Pupils felt proud of what they were able to achieve, without their parents doing everything for them.

In the classroom, self-confidence might take a blow, especially for those whose English level was low, but residential life and its new experiences helped to boost self-confidence:

I am thinking that finally I can stay on my feet alone and take my decisions.

Ada: WR1

Pupils felt more responsible for their actions, relying more on their own resources:

I am more independent and more responsible. Whereas in the past my mother took care of everything, I know that now I must think out the smallest things about myself; and I try to act accordingly.

Ezgi: WR5. Translated.

Some felt they started to know themselves better, with the new responsibilities, such as waking themselves up each morning:

It helped me get my order of my own life in a really short time. It helped me grow both physically and mentally.

Elize: WR9

Ada felt that her nutrition had improved due to the lack of availability of temptations found at home:

Sounds impossible but I'm not drinking cola and coffee that constantly anymore. I've never tasted potato chips for 2 months and I've starting to forgetting tastes of some junk food. #proudagain.

Ada: WR5

Most students felt they had benefitted from the new experiences associated with residential life.

10.2.5 Friendships

Residential students tended to choose other residential students for school friends, as Mehmet observed:

I have more contacts with the boarders, we spend more time together, we get to know each other more, and we become close.

Mehmet: WR1. Translated.

Twenty-six pupils reported that the best part of returning to Forrest School after the *bayram* holiday was to be with their residential friends again; in just two weeks of school, they had created strong bonds. Friends helped each other with schoolwork, and with adjusting to their new life. Both girls and boys commented on how they shared their thoughts and worries with their friends. Knowing that others were experiencing similar emotions could be very comforting:

But it comforts me to know that many other people feel the same way as I do.

Ezgi: WR4. Translated.

Bora and Lale both observed that it was easier to become friends with someone with whom you shared a room. At lunchtimes, residential pupils would be seen eating together more than eating with their day pupil classmates. Small gestures were really appreciated, such as a "welcome back" note stuck on Ada's wardrobe when she returned from hospital, and Sabri's kindness to Nuri, walking with him to the school health center when he had to get his medication. Unforgettable memories were built, sometimes from very ordinary events.

Most pupils were learning how to build close relationships. Sometimes, friendships floundered, for a variety of reasons. Mustafa, for example, became frustrated when friends were two-faced:

What annoys me is people who treat people different in different situations. For example, if someone is good to me when we were alone but when the 3rd person came, he started behaving me in a bad way, that annoys me the most.

Mustafa: WR8

Most pupils were close friends with their own gender, except for Mehmet who early on predicted some girls to become his friends. Very few pupils openly expressed a desire for a romantic friendship.

Many pupils expressed their pleasure at reconnecting with their hometown friends when they went home for holidays, and that their friends were interested in their Forrest School experiences. However, for some the relationships had changed:

It was strange. While everyone else's life revolved in the same orbit, I left my orbit by going to a boarding school, I disrupted the routine.

Ezgi: WR3. Translated.

Friendship with and support from residential peers was a major issue for almost every pupil in the study.

10.2.6 Being proactive

It was important for pupils to reach out for help when they needed it. Turhan regularly took advantage of the voluntary, after school English support lessons; at the end of the year, his English proficiency had significantly improved, going up one proficiency level according to the English Language Test for International Students (ELTiS). Lara said she would always ask someone if there was something she did not understand; her efforts paid off and at the end of the year, she went up two proficiency levels. Such proactive approaches produced better results. Some pupils used the bilingual WRs as an opportunity to take advantage of the extra English practice it gave them, by writing responses in English, such as

Rüya. There were students like Ebru who were very proactive in finding resources to help them improve:

I watch movies with English subtitles, I listen to songs, and I read books. I review my notebooks daily. I consult online sites.

Ebru: WR4. Translated.

10.2.7 Strategies to cope with missing home

Pupils had different ways of distracting themselves when they started to miss the life they had left behind. Some reached out to their new friends and consciously reflected on how they felt:

When I feel I am going to miss my home and my old friends, I go next to other people, and I try to get this idea out of my mind. I remind myself about how happy I am here.

Ezgi: WR4. Translated.

A range of strategies were shared which helped to banish unwelcome thoughts, such as Melis focusing on her homework; Alev going running or playing basketball; and Emre playing computer games or watching online cartoons. Others reminded themselves of their goals and the fact that they had not lost their family:

I'm saying myself that I'm here for a reason. My family is still there, I can see them whenever I want.

Leyla: WR4

Some pupils chose to share their experiences and difficulties with their parents, as that helped them resolve the matters.

10.2.8 Building a tool-kit of human resources

A few pupils arrived with a well-equipped tool-kit of resources which helped with their transition. Others developed skills to ease the transition; self-awareness was an important pre-requisite for such a development. Some pupils, for example, recognized that they could become stronger when facing certain adversity, such as:

I am a little upset because I will be away from my mother. But this is not a big issue, because hardships make us stronger on our path to achieve something.

Kadriye: WR1. Translated.

Taylan felt he had made sacrifices in order to reach Forrest School, but felt positive about the projected outcome. Optimism was a characteristic of resilient pupils. Gamze admitted she was ambitious, that if she didn't succeed at the first attempt, she would do all she could to ensure she did at the second attempt.

Related with such resilience, pupils who adjusted more quickly to Forrest School demonstrated reflective determination: thinking about what they needed to do and then acting on it:

I only think about what is going on to make me happy and just do that stuff.

Ruşen: WR4

Getting into Forrest School had required determination; twenty pupils expressed pride in being able to enter what they repeatedly referred to as "the best school in Turkey". Many students had set themselves specific goals for their new life, such as:

My target is to be the Apple CEO or the agent of Apple in Turkey.

Bora: WR1

Yusuf stated he wanted to be a politician, Mehmet an engineer, Yoel a businessman, Lara an architect, Turhan a genetics professor, and Ruşen had a more vague yet interesting goal:

I want to be a man that changes everything with his words.

Ruşen: WR8

Mina, for example, started the year with a low level of English but she was determined to succeed and devised a strategy for reviewing her class work each evening in the residence, extending her vocabulary by researching words she did not understand. Lara felt that her self-confidence had improved as her sense of achievement bolstered her:

I feel more self-confident. Because I proved to myself that I could be a boarder.

Lara: WR5. Translated.

Some pupils sought out help with the transition; others were more resourceful and determined:

There is no one that helps me. Because no one can help me with overcome this. I must do it on my own. I think I'm going on well with this position.

Leyla: WR4

Similarly, Bora understood right from week one that he had to stand on his own two feet:

There is no body to clean up my back. That is a big responsibility but I take it as a chance to prove myself. ☺

Bora: WR1

Forrest School enabled pupils to grow emotionally and intellectually, to take risks in a safe environment, to try new experiences, to take responsibility and to learn how to be independent thinkers and doers. Leyla, quite a self-contained and confident girl, was able to understand how, in just the first five weeks, she had changed as a result of her experience at Forrest School:

I feel like I found my hidden side, it was always inside me, but in FS I had a chance to show it. I am very pleased for this change.

Leyla: WR5

In a similar way, Nur, who was shy, felt she had also “come out of her shell”:

I feel as if I began to talk more. I gained confidence. Whereas I had difficulty to communicate in the past, now I can speak more comfortably. In my opinion, FS definitely played a role in this.

Nur: WR5. Translated.

Nesrin, someone who previously spent a lot of time playing computer games at home, recognized that Forrest School had made her more social. The vast majority of pupils did not complain about how they were changing during the year; those who did comment on change were highly appreciative of how the

opportunities they were afforded helped them. Ebru was the only one who said she was afraid of change and wanted to remain as she had been on the first day of school.

10.2.9 Finding an interest

Nejat's only advice for newcomers was:

Find an interest for yourself and develop it.

Nejat: WR9

Since there were so many opportunities available at Forrest School, many students did exactly what Nejat suggested. The more confident ones, such as Leyla and Bora, joined active and ambitious after-school clubs. Six of the pupils stood for student government election and made candidate speeches in English. Taylan, whose English was not strong at first, auditioned for and got into the English drama club; this was a bold step to take and at the end of the year, he had a role in a Shakespeare scene. Ruşen, a capable basketball player, continued that interest and got into the school team, one of the youngest players.

On the other hand, Ada, who started the year with one of the highest levels of English, and ended with the lowest GPA amongst the residential girls, was unusual in that she did not join any co-curricular activity. She did not do as Nejat suggested to the newcomers.

10.3 Conflicting emotions

Almost all pupils had conflicting emotions: having fun with their new life yet, at the same time, missing their family. Rüya experienced many different emotions at the start of the year:

Sometimes very amusing, sometimes tiring, sometimes very complex, sometimes very lonely, and sometimes very knowledgeable or grown up. What I mean is that, my feelings can be different, depending on the adventures that I experience in the day.

Rüya: WR1. Translated.

Nuri doubted whether he was worthy to attend Forrest School:

Sometimes I cannot believe how I entered this school, and I feel that I didn't deserve this, but at other times I think that I have been successful and that I deserved it.

Nuri: WR1. Translated.

At the end of the year, Aysel still was conflicted by recognising that she needed to be at the school for her future success, yet unhappy to endure the consequences of the move away from home:

I learnt lots of new things. I had some really good times; however, I still don't like the idea of staying at school at nights, being away from home just for my future and how unknown is future because of how things have changed and not knowing who I am.

Aysel: WR9

Since the pupils faced so many different experiences on a daily basis, it was understandable that even within a day, their feelings could change. It should be remembered that they were also experiencing early adolescence.

10.4 The transition journey

Very few pupils adapted immediately to the transition. Many understood that the transition was a journey with some difficulties along the way:

It's been a challenge to get used to this new life but I am very happy that I made the right choice to be here.

Bora: WR5

The use of the Turkish word "*alışmak*", which means "to get used to", was peppered throughout the WRs. Pupils had to get used to the residence, its rules and procedures, their roommates and their different habits, the food, and doing their own household tasks. Regarding academics, they had to get used to not getting as high grades as they had received in the past; to accepting that they might not be able to understand everything the teachers were talking about, due to their level of English proficiency; to the amount and intensity of homework they had to do; and to understanding that they were no longer automatically the best in the class, as they all had been in their primary school. The challenge of learning a

new language and having most lessons in that language should not be underestimated. The 5-day pupils had to get used to the journey home each weekend. All pupils had to get used to Istanbul and its traffic. They also had to get used to being without their established friends and family which, for some, was the biggest adjustment of all.

Every pupil reacted differently on this journey. Returning after the *bayram* holiday which followed the first two weeks of school, most pupils felt more settled. However, for Rüya, the opposite was true:

I feel so weird because the start of the year, I mean before the *bayram*, I was feeling better than now.

Rüya: WR3

Taylan adapted after a few months:

The first few months was hard, but after that everything was AWESOME.

Taylan: WR9

For Nur, the adjustment period took half the year:

First semester was hard. Even though I was a 5-day student I missed my family. I didn't have much interaction with my roommates and I was seriously irked by some. Second semester was much better.

Nur: WR9

Ezgi summed up the feelings of many; while she referred to residential life, the expression could equally well be applied to the whole experience of moving to Forrest School as expressed by many pupils:

Residential life is like getting into sea. It is cold at first, but as you get used to it, you don't want to leave anymore.

Ezgi: WR8

This journey offered many opportunities for those who were able to take advantage of them, and to adjust to their new life:

I've learned a lot from nearly everything I encountered this year and that's a perfect thing.

Bora: WR9

Each pupil's transition was unique, in terms of duration, form, intensity and degree of success, as a result of the varying factors which impacted the transition.

I have identified three categories, according to the degree of success with which pupils made the transition: successful transition, inconsistent transition, and incomplete transition. A table identifying pupils in each category can be found in Appendix K. It should be remembered that all pupils expressed some degree of discontent, concern or anxiety with at least one aspect of their new life, especially in the initial weeks of the transition.

10.4.1 Successful transition

Eighteen pupils fall into the category of "successful transition", 50% of the participants: 10 boys and 8 girls. For this study, I am defining a successful transition as a process of adaptation to the new situation, leading to pupil satisfaction, contentment and a sense of achievement, where physical and psychological needs have been met, where pupils accept the new community and its expectations, where pupils have achieved balance in their lives, and where they are doing what is needed academically. All of these criteria must have been met for a successful transition to have been achieved. There is no common denominator to explain how they all appear in this category. Most students' mastery of English improved, according to the English Language Test for International Students (ELTiS), but not all. Girls are in the higher range for academic success, yet boys have higher degrees of satisfaction with residential life. All pupils gave a mark out of 10 for the residential life experience and pupils in this category gave a mark which ranged from 6 to 9, with lower marks coming from girls. Mehmet, even though his end-of-year ranking is low, achieved significant success when considering where he started out. His English was the lowest level of all participants on entry: a shy boy who struggled initially with leaving his mother and younger sibling, it was his musical talent which largely enabled him to forge friendships and connections, with peers and older students, and which facilitated this growth.

10.4.2 Inconsistent transition

There are eleven pupils in the category of “inconsistent transition”, 7 girls and 4 boys, all with very different stories, explaining their location in this category; all of them had some factor(s) which prevented them from succeeding fully in the transition process. The only common denominator is the fact that their parents were married, not divorced, but since 91% of the participants had parents who were married, this is not an important denominator. All of them learned to adapt to Forrest School to a certain extent but all had a rocky journey of transition, with differing degrees of success. For example, Nur’s English proficiency was consistently high during the year: a 5-day pupil, it took her a long time to be socially aware and to be open with her roommates. Ali was the most academically successful residential boy, but he struggled with living communally, and was obsessive with his own space and belongings in his room.

All pupils in this category did not achieve adequate balance in their lives; there was at least one area of their Forrest School experience which was deficient and which impeded a quick and smooth transition process.

10.4.3 Incomplete transition

In this category, there are 5 pupils, 3 girls and 2 boys, all with very individual circumstances which negatively impacted the transition process and resulted in significant adjustment issues which, in most cases, remained unresolved at the end of the year. All pupils’ hometowns were far from Istanbul, meaning that they could not regularly see their family. Four of these pupils had food-related issues: Melis, Aysel and Can restricted their food intake, and Ebru, a fussy eater, rarely ate on campus. All of them had unresolved family issues: Emre’s father seemed volatile and emotionally unstable; Melis was unable to separate herself from her mother; Ebru was obsessed with her brother, who rarely had any contact with her; Nuri’s father was distant from his son; and Aysel desperately missed her parents and siblings. None of the girls were happy with the residential experience, whereas the boys expressed positive feelings. Four of these pupils had poor relationships with their peers; Nuri was the only one who was popular and

appreciated for his sense of fun. Nuri's transition was interrupted as his eating disorder meant he had to move out of the residence until his health improved.

All of them had a difficult, in some cases, traumatic experience of transition. All of them required regular psychological intervention, either from outside professionals or from their Forrest School counsellor; they needed extra support beyond what their families, their teachers and their peers could provide. There was an undercurrent of unhappiness, some instability and even some self-harm. Yet all shared the determination to stay at Forrest School, which they repeatedly referred to as "the best school in Turkey".

11. Discussion

The aim of this study is to examine the lived experience of transition to a Turkish residential school by a group of high achieving, Turkish, early adolescents, as well as to ascertain what impacted the transition. This study enriches the very limited research available on boarding schools, especially due to the synchronous and authentic reporting of the experience, provided by those actually going through it, namely the pupils.

11.1 The uniqueness of each child's experience

Each child in this study had a unique experience of transition to this Turkish residential school. Each child had individual needs to be met, both in the classroom and in the residence, related to identity, friendship, autonomy, the loss of family life, academic issues, and the need to live in a community of disparate adolescents. Such statements are rarely heard in the sparse literature related with boarding schools. Of course, the fact that they were adolescents brought a separate set of challenges to tackle in the new and sometimes emotionally insecure environment. For some, the transition was relatively smooth and successful; for some, it was an incremental incline towards optimal adjustment; for some it was erratic, with peaks of happiness and troughs of sadness; and for some, the transition period did not reach an end, with unresolved issues leading into the subsequent academic year. Each pupil took different lengths of time to transition to the new environment. This is rarely acknowledged in practice or in the literature.

How can one pupil say it was the worst year of her life but yet another say it was the best? Everyone had the same opportunities provided by the school yet everyone had a unique and, sometimes, extreme reaction. For some, residential life was wonderful; for a few, it was torture. The uniqueness of each individual's situation has not been recognized so far in the limited boarding school literature; boarding schools generally do the opposite, molding their pupils into traditional uniformity, and requiring emotions to be hidden (Duffell, 2005; Hoare, 2014). This study suggests major implications for the way in which many residential schools encourage uniformity.

Duffell (2005) and Schaverien (2015) recognized that teenagers starting residential school, not just younger children, can struggle with the transition and this study certainly confirms such a fact. Indeed, everyone, at some stage in the year, encountered some difficulty. There was the recurrent theme of “what doesn’t kill us makes us stronger”, because they were all ambitious and thinking about their future. Taylan, for example, who is in the “successful transition” category, accepted this philosophy at the end of the fourth week:

Sometimes I feel very sad, but I know that I must make big sacrifices in order to achieve big things.

Taylan: WR4. Translated.

Since each pupil’s experience of transition was unique, it is impossible to state categorically that there were specific criteria which always influenced transition in a certain way. The special circumstances of individuals dictated that reactions to the same criterion could be different. That being said, there are certain commonalities which can cause disruption to or, conversely, ease transition.

11.2 Revisiting theoretical connections

Especially when feeling sad or lonely or tired, pupils often contacted their parents, looking for proximity to their attachment figure (Bowlby, 1988), usually virtual proximity, since they were not living near their parents. All the pupils in this study experienced a sense of loss, since the attachment to their home and family had been disrupted; for some, the disruption to attachment was traumatic, resulting in, for example, Melis’s itchy body and Ebru’s frequent bouts of crying. The fact that all pupils expressed how much they missed their family, and frequently expressed it, often without such comments being solicited, suggests the universality of attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969). It was extremely difficult for some pupils to concentrate on their lessons at times when they were desperately missing the interaction with their family: Mehmet expressed this in his second interview at a time when he had newly learned of his younger brother’s illness. It took time for pupils to adjust to such losses.

The “big fish – little pond” effect of Marsh and Hau (2003) was something experienced by each pupil, since they had all been the top pupil in their primary school and now were one of many such pupils. There were now many little fish in a big pond. Some wanted to continue to strive to be the top pupil: Ebru was driven by this obsession, for example. Some were glad not to have to compete any more, content to coast for a while, such as Nesrin. Some hid their heads in the sand, ignoring the potential competition, such as Emre and Ada. The different levels of English immediately placed some pupils at a disadvantage, so that they were automatically even smaller fish.

In most cases, the pupils were closely tied to their family, confirming the low Individualism Index for Turkey, outlined by Hofstede (1984) and Turkish society’s “tightness” (Gelfand *et al.*, 2011). Pupils frequently referred to the longing for home and family intimacy, including physical touch, including the desire to sleep in the same bed with their mother. Mehmet’s family, for example, was tight-knit, with his immediate family living alongside his maternal grandmother. Parents were to be obeyed, confirming Hofstede’s (1984) high Power Distance Index for Turkey: Emre’s father, for example, was clearly a dominant person in the household, and Ezgi’s love of freedom in the residence reflects back on the lack of freedom she had when at home, as a Turkish girl in a typical family structure. Yet, there are indications that some parents, especially the parents of girls, are breaking away from such traditional approaches: all of the girls in this study were confident, strong individuals, vocal about their opinions, and having access to an independent future.

Hofstede’s view of Turkey may not be totally typical of the pupils in this study, based in the cosmopolitan city of Istanbul: it should be remembered too that they have changed during the year. Some authors consider their research in Turkey to be non-western, for example Klassen and Kuzucu (2009); but Istanbul sits astride Europe and Asia so it is less easy to define its culture. Above all, this research is a potpourri: the pupils are coming from a range of Turkish families, some quite traditional and some more modern, all exposed to a very western type of education, where girls are equal to boys, where anything is open to debate, and where the teacher is the facilitator of learning rather than the fountain of knowledge. Alev choosing to practise basketball alone, even though some boys commented on the unusual nature of the situation: that is an example of a girl

from a very traditional family breaking away from usual expectations for her behaviour. In Mehmet's first interview, he commented that there were "lots of cultural differences" at Forrest School: the pupils were clearly aware that they were in "another world". Thus, the western style of education and expectations in the residences mean that much of western research is relevant when considering these pupils' experiences; however, their Turkish upbringing means that much of the research into Turkish culture is also valid. It is a special situation of east meeting west, with remarkably few cultural conflicts.

11.3 Key challenges for transition

Most of the early adolescent pupils in this study experienced stress at some stage of the transition. While it cannot be denied that some of the stress was related to the fact that they were moving to a new school, confirming Anderson *et al.* (2000), more significant is the fact of their moving to a residential school, moving cities and leaving behind their families. Some pupils' stress manifested itself physically, such as Turhan's sweaty hands or Melis's itchy body; some pupils' stress caused psychological disturbances.

11.3.1 A new culture of communal living

Without question, all pupils had moved to a new culture:

It's another world.

Elize: WR9

One might suggest that they were all Turkish, living in Turkey, with Turkish residential staff so the culture was uniform. However, even within Turkey, there are large regional differences: Alev, for example, came from a Kurdish region of Turkey and she struggled with differences in food and habits, as well as with others' disrespect for her hometown region. She likened residential life to "being on an island" (Alev: WR9) which epitomizes her sense of cultural isolation.

Parental styles were often very different which meant pupils had different habits and expectations. Some pupils, like Nesrin, were allowed considerable freedom

by their families, whereas others, like Ezgi, had restricted options at home and preferred the relative freedom of residential life at Forrest School. There were differences in socio-economic backgrounds, with 50% of the participants coming from families qualifying for means-tested scholarships. These pupils did not have a homogenous background, beyond the superficial definition of them all being Turkish by nationality.

Some, like Melis, struggled with the new residential culture and experienced Guthrie's (1966) "culture fatigue", a weariness with the situation. Others, like Alev, experienced "culture shock" (Lysgaard, 1955; Oberg, 1960), surprise and despair that some pupils could be so intolerant and insensitive. They were all without the comfort of usual patterns and routines which help to identify expected behaviours (Pillemer, 2001).

While some authors share reports likening residential schools to being kept captive (Mollart, 2013; Schaverien, 2015), the majority of participants never expressed any such feeling: the reason may be that Forrest School extends considerable freedom of movement, with pupils being able to leave campus after classes are over and at the weekends, returning by the evening curfew. Melis was the only one who compared residential life to prison.

A lack of privacy was a central theme for these pupils, something which has been rarely discussed in previous research: personal, physical privacy in terms of washing and dressing, as well as rarely being able to have a private conversation without being overheard. This research supports the Council of International Schools' (CIS) (2017) action to include the need for privacy in their new accreditation documentation for schools with residential facilities. Coming from different backgrounds, there was a range of expectations related with such basic needs. Living communally meant getting used to a reduction in opportunities for privacy, something which Mollart's (2013) male pupils also realised. Having a secure and safe bedroom environment should be a given, where individual space is respected; however, Emre chose not to bring something special from home for fear of it getting taken or destroyed, something which Schaverien (2015) found happened commonly in boarding schools.

Incidences of unkind acts, including bullying, were occasionally recounted which confirms previous studies involving residential pupils (Mollart, 2013; Pfeiffer and Pinquart, 2014; Schaverien, 2015); very few incidents were reported to staff, however, confirming Schaverien (2015), who suggests that pupils often accept such acts as cultural norms. Pranks were more common for boys whereas girls could be cruel with their words, which confirms the experience of the Turkish adolescents in the study of Siyahhan, Aricak and Cayirdag-Acar (2012).

Four of the pupils in this study had issues with eating, something which can be compounded in a residential situation. There are rare examples in research about eating issues in the residential setting. Unusually, the most severe case was a boy, Nuri, who was required to leave the residential facility until his eating disorder was addressed. The residential setting can compound eating disorders because of the constant reminder of peers who are thinner or fatter than they are. Restricting food intake might be a way for pupils who are feeling out of their depth in the residential setting to take control of one aspect of their lives. This is certainly the case for the four pupils in this study who struggled with food issues. Schaverien (2015) suggests that the dining room can be a place where homesickness is felt keenly; this study extends her research as it found that food, and particularly anticipating the pleasures of homemade food, was a central obsession with many.

Sleeplessness and fatigue were two states often mentioned by my participants. In many cases, they were sleeping late not because of noisy roommates or uncomfortable beds, but because of studying so much. Interestingly, pupils often referred to sleep as something they were looking forward to when going home for a holiday: sleeping in the safe, secure and relaxed environment of their own bedroom cannot be compared to sharing a room with up to five others. Sleep in the residential setting has been rarely studied previously; one cannot assume that “lights out” means that everyone is asleep. The extent to which sleep deprivation had an effect on their mood was not identified, although there is often a link (Short and Louca, 2015; Seo *et al.*, 2017). Nor was the effect on academic performance directly addressed. These are important areas for future research.

It is interesting to note that boys were considerably more content with residential life than girls. The 7-day boys, in particular, the ones who did not go home

regularly, were the most content of all. Conversely, the 7-day residential girls, who were less content with residential life, were much more successful academically. This is surprising: one would have expected that doing well academically would have had a correlation with contentment. For some, such as Aysel, Melis and Ebru, the close contact in the residence with potential competitors was stressful and only increased their perceived need to study.

11.3.2. Longing for family and home

Some pupils longed for their home, family and usual way of life. The way pupils dealt with their feelings varied immensely. For pupils like Melis, the feeling really did resemble what Schaverien (2015, p.164) refers to as “suppressed mourning”. Similar to some of Mollart’s participants (2013), a few of my participants pretended to be fine to be separated from home and family but yet their actions and comments contradicted this. Mollart (2013) pointed out that homesickness is not restricted to the very beginning of the transition, and this was the case for some pupils: for example, Aysel, even at the end of the year, recognized her sense of loss, being away from home in order to ensure a better future. Melis was socially incapacitated because of homesickness, more specifically missing her mother, which confirms what Fisher (1991) discovered, that homesickness can impede children’s development in residential settings. Contrary to the research of Kiln (2016), almost all of my participants voluntarily shared any feelings related with homesickness with their counsellor, or with me.

Numerous pupils hated the parting from their loved ones at the end of a holiday, with intense emotions (Bowlby, 1979), and the broken relationships, which confirms what Duffell (2000) identified. Repetition and predictability can create a sense of security; however, at other times, as in this example of rupturing family relationships at the end of holidays, repetition can intensify a negative experience, which confirms Schaverien’s (2015) research with former residential pupils.

11.3.3 Academic concerns and competition

These pupils were quite atypical teenagers in the degree to which they were so consistently academically focused and ambitious. Most academic pressure was

usually self-imposed: Ebru, for example, wanted to be first in everything. Girls, in particular, were very harsh on themselves with extremely high expectations; their increased academic motivation compared with the boys confirms Epstein (1983) yet is in contrast to the results shown by the Turkish adolescents in Şahin, Topkaya and Kürkçü's (2016) study.

The degree of academic pressure exerted by parents varied considerably. On the one hand, Nesrin's parents never expressed any concern for her underachievement, due to their permissive parenting style (Baumrind, 1978); on the other hand, Emre's mother was a regular visitor to the school, meeting teachers, and trying to make her son take his studies more seriously, yet her intrusiveness hindered his sense of competence, something which Barnes (1985) warns against. This study's results do not confirm those of Persike and Seiffge-Krencke (2016) as my pupils were usually not more stressed by their parents than their peers; this could be explained by the fact that the pupils in this study were away from their parents' influence for most of the time.

Pupils who made a good transition to the school found ways to cope with academic pressure and stress. Alev turned to basketball and running as a way of working through stressful situations. Leyla kept reminding herself of her goals in being at Forrest School, keeping herself focused. Ezgi would go and find her friends and talk to them to help get through times when she was feeling low, something which adolescent girls often do, more so than boys (Frydenberg and Lewis, 1991; Eschenbeck *et al.*, 2012; Cavanaugh *et al.*, 2017). Not everyone, however, found positive ways of dealing with their stress: Aysel and Melis, for example, both restricted their food intake in an effort to be in control. The ability to deal with pressure, regardless of whether it was self-imposed, parentally projected or academic from the school's requirements, had a significant impact on the type of transition experienced.

The self-esteem of many pupils dropped in the first weeks of the new experience, confirming previous research (such as West, Sweeting and Young, 2010; Schaffhuser, Allemann and Schwarz, 2017): this was related to reduced academic self-concept, often the "big fish – little pond" effect (Marsh and Hau, 2003), as well as some pupils with little English struggling in the initial stages of language acquisition and understanding. Some pupils, such as Aysel and Zeki, arrived with

low self-esteem and low self-confidence and both struggled with the transition, as predicted by the work of Evangelou *et al.* (2008) and Evans *et al.* (2010).

Confirming Lindahl and Archer (2013), those who had an optimistic outlook were able to put academic adversity in context and move on. At the start of the year, some pupils were pessimistic about being able to succeed academically, because they were being educated in a language which they were learning simultaneously with the academic content. However, as they gained English proficiency, this pessimism was largely diffused. Tied to this was the degree of realism they exhibited: Ebru expecting to always be first was unrealistic considering there were many pupils who were equally able, conscientious and ambitious.

Forrest School during the day was a totally different culture for them, compared with their previous school experiences. Certainly for many, there was discontinuity of learning (Knight, 2013) and discontinuity in curriculum (Galton, Morrison and Pell, 2000). However, it was even more so for these pupils due to the curriculum being delivered in a different language. The school may be a new culture which throws up difficulties at times, but every pupil in this study was totally committed to the school. Even those who were struggling never suggested the possibility of leaving. Indeed, the attachment to Forrest School and all it represented helped ease the transition to residential life, since pupils had no alternative place to stay in the city: if they wanted to attend this school, then they had to adjust to the residential experience.

11.4 Scaffolds to ease transition

Each child's experience of transition was unique yet each child had means of easing the transition. Many children chose and relied on positive and productive supports, such as sharing how they were feeling with friends; a few, however, chose counter-productive means, such as Emre distracting himself with computer games at the expense of his studies.

11.4.1 School structures and interventions

Forrest School supported pupils in their individual growth and provided opportunities to practise the development of skills in order to adapt to their new situation. Staff were aware that their purpose was not just to prepare “knowledge workers” (Carr, 2016, p.1), that social skills and psychological needs had to be addressed. Some pupils arrived more well-prepared than others in such areas and for them, residential life was a smoother initiation. Others had to work on skills to ease the transition. Ezgi, for example, at first felt intimidated being surrounded by others who were equally clever; she had been used to always being the best in her previous school, but her determination, combined with achieving balance in her life, led to her successful transition.

One of the most well-adjusted and academically successful pupils likened the residential life experience to a popular television show:

Residential life is like SURVIVOR. You need to take care of yourself, it's really important.

Leyla: WR9

In a residential setting, taking care refers to logistical matters, such as washing and ironing, managing finances, and making sure you eat and sleep well, in addition to psychological well-being and interpersonal interactions. Encouraging such independence was part of the residential staff's mission, and support was given in such areas.

Residential life was a lot of fun for most pupils most of the time, especially the boys. Being with their friends gave lots of opportunities for sharing, fun and laughter. Residential life also gave pupils a degree of independence which most had not experienced at home. Especially for these Turkish girls, in a culture where daughters are more controlled than sons (Ataca, Kagitcibasi and Diri, 2005), being able to decide themselves where they were going and what they were going to do in their free time was a refreshing change; this is an important cultural point as it contradicts Mollart's (2013) participants at an English boarding school who felt their movements were restricted.

The children in this study had free, unstructured time, especially at the weekends, for “being” rather than “doing” (Mollart, 2013). They did not have a heavily regimented routine, compared with pupils at many other residential schools (Duffell, 2005), even though Nihat likened residential life to a military camp (WR9). Most pupils benefitted from this free time, and were able to make good choices. Contrary to the findings of Ellerbrock and Kiefer (2013), my participants did not find unstructured times to be stressful, emphasizing isolation, probably because they chose to fill their time with homework and study, as well as sports, music, computer games or socializing with other residential peers. Ebru is exceptional as she chose to spend much of her free time alone; however, she grew to revel in her loneliness.

Adolescence is a crucial time for identity formation: accepting one’s uniqueness as well as recognising one’s place in the social context (Zacares and Iborra, 2015). Since community is a forum to foster adolescents’ identity (Erikson, 1968), pupils had this opportunity in this study. They had multiple layers of identity to form (such as pupil, friend, daughter, Turk, community member, basketball player) and had the luxury of being thrown together with strangers, with room to explore their identities in a relatively safe environment; they were developing a major social skill of building and developing relationships, so important during adolescence (Coleman, 2011). Following Wentzel (2009), Forrest School had transparent expectations for behaviour, which fostered positive peer interactions. Many pupils expressed contentment with whom they had become since the move to Forrest School; one exception was Ebru who wished she could turn back time to 8th grade. All pupils, without exception, identified with and were proud of their status as Forrest School residential pupils.

Forrest School’s programme for students transitioning to their new situation was thoughtful, dynamic and supportive. Residential staff received relevant training and psychological supervision, educational opportunities which are not regularly granted in many other schools (Hotchkiss and Kowalchick, 2002), even though looking after young people in a communal setting requires continuous learning (Kahan, 1994). Unlike many other residential schools (see, for example, van Hoof and Hansen, 1999), Forrest School provided significant psychological support to those children who needed it: all five pupils identified as having an incomplete transition received regular psychological support, either from external

professionals or from their school counsellor. Especially early on in the year when they were learning to adjust to being apart from their families and learning to adjust to having lessons in English, pupils made regular visits to the school counsellor for support.

The participants in this study commented on how helpful the older pupils were, especially in terms of assisting them with adjustment to the new environment and with their studies. Compared with many traditional boarding schools, there was a flatter social structure, as recommended by Williams (2016), which encouraged positive communication. There were many examples of *ad hoc* support by older pupils, such as travelling home together or helping with homework-related questions, but Forrest School also designed a structure for on-going support, with grade 10 mentors working virtually with the newcomers, starting as soon as they were registered with the school; this was found to be very successful in preparing the pupils, as it was for the pupils in Lampert's (2005) study.

11.4.2 The importance of friendship

For most pupils, being good friends with others who were living with them in the residence assisted their transition to the school. Adolescent friendships in new day schools help to smoothen the transition (Evangelou *et al.*, 2008; Schall, Wallace and Chhuon, 2016). This study extended the research conducted in day schools and showed that the importance of adolescent friendship is amplified in the residential setting. On the one hand, these pupils had the chance to bond outside the classroom, have a lot of fun, learn from each other, share new experiences together, and help each other with practical tasks like homework or laundry; on the other, they could talk together about their concerns, supporting each other in difficult times. In particular, the desire to return to their Forrest School friends at the end of a holiday (or weekend) at home was a significant incentive for them to make the wrench away from loved ones.

A lack of residential friends usually had a negative impact on transition. Two pupils who were unsuccessful in transition did not make friends with other residential pupils, and were deficient in social capital. Ebru rejected all offers of friendship with residential pupils, preferring to be alone; confirming Parker *et al.*

(2005), her preference to be alone was connected to jealousy of her peers, many of whom started off more academically and socially adept. Emre craved friendship, which eluded him throughout the year; his immaturity and social awkwardness pushed peers away, confirming a previous study of Turkish adolescents (Karababa and Dilmaç, 2016), and he consequently missed out on opportunities to develop social skills, confirming Margalit (2010). It was a vicious circle for Emre.

As was repeatedly stated by the pupils, their residential friends became equivalent to their siblings, which confirms Schaverien (2015); almost one third of the participants compared residential life to family life, clarifying that it is the sibling relationship which is significant. It is not that the situation feels home-like or that staff are parent-like, as many boarding schools' promotional materials suggest: it is the sibling-style relationship which is so important. This is a significant point which is rarely addressed in previous research. Friendships were intense, especially for the girls: the fact that there was no escape from each other at the end of each school day heightened the intensity, compared with day pupil friendships.

Acknowledging that environmental factors have a major influence on friendship development during adolescence (Epstein and Karweit, 1983), Forrest School had a programme in place to encourage and promote the development of friendships. The girls, for the most part, were not existing in Partridge's "emotional desert" (2007, p.311); often, girls would be seen arm-in-arm, or hugging each other. The main exception was Ebru, who rejected any gesture of friendship or physical contact. The boys were less tactile, but bonds were built, the exception being Emre, although in his case, unlike Ebru, it was not his preference to be friendless.

Those who share their experiences with friends are happier than those who don't (Frydenberg, 1997) and this was confirmed in this study. Alev, for example, struggled with accepting the intimacy of friendship at first, and with taking part in gossip, something with Aikins, Collibee and Cunningham (2017) found to be an important component of adolescent intimate friendship. Just like Baytemir's (2016) Turkish adolescents, the pupils who developed strong friendships thrived.

11.4.3 The role of family

The relationship of pupils with their families was examined mainly from the perspective of the pupils, with the addition of details from my interactions with family members throughout the year, and data-gathering from school staff's observations. Very little data were collected directly from parents since the focus of this study was on pupils' experiences. Even so, it is clear that the relationship with family members had a direct influence on pupils' transition: attachment to parents sometimes lubricated and sometimes hindered the transition process.

Many pupils relied on their "internal working models" (Bowlby, 1973) to adjust to life without their parents at their side. Those with healthy and stable attachments with parents fared well, such as Leyla who was very pragmatic about the separation, acknowledging that the state was temporary but that her parents were still there for her. She felt valued by her authoritative parents and she had resulting high self-esteem, a link identified by Dusek and McIntyre (2003). Bowlby (1973) commented on the importance of a strong relationship between parents and child in order to develop self-reliance; since residential pupils especially need this self-reliance in order to function well, the importance of an appropriate and supportive parent-child relationship should not be underestimated.

Those children without strong positive relationships with parents did not fare so well. Emre, for example, with an unstable father and intrusive mother, was a lost soul, having difficulty making friendships; Emre's case confirms the work of Litovsky and Dusek (1985) as his parents used guilt and intrusion to manipulate their child, resulting in low self-esteem and unhappiness. Such psychological control causes stress (Soenens and Beyers, 2012). Ebru's parents seemed emotionally detached from her and this detachment probably contributed to her intense loneliness, a connection which Margalit (2010) found between lonely children and their families. Nesrin's father's intense feelings for his daughter contributed to the emotional development of a girl who was very detached from him. Such family relationships and their influence on the children contradict the study of Sunar (2009), who found no relationship between her Turkish adolescents and paternal behaviour: for some of my participants, the father's style of involvement had a direct influence on the child's development.

The ability of parents to strike the right balance between showing they missed their child but also letting their child go was sometimes difficult to achieve. Ex-boarders in psychotherapy recall the pain of separation, often not acknowledged by either parent or child, (Duffell, 2005; Gottlieb, 2005; Schaverien, 2015; Schaverien, 2016). Being a parent is difficult, as authors remind us (Margalit, 2010; Raws, 2016); being a parent of a residential pupil has a different dimension of difficulty. Some parents manage the challenge well, able to show they care yet not being too emotional. What Ponappa, Bartle-Haring and Day (2014) referred to as a “healthy separation” is equally valid for parents as well as their child, a physical as well as an emotional separation. Yet adolescents need the supportive involvement of their parents (Frydenberg, 1997; Cobb, 2006); the 5-day residential pupils who went home every weekend could get a weekly dose of such support, but the 7-day pupils relied on phone calls, messaging and Skype. For some, like Aysel, this was not sufficient and parting after holidays was repeatedly referred to as a painful experience. Throughout the year, Melis experienced a sense of bereavement (Schaverien, 2015), for the temporary loss of her mother, due to the separation.

Confirming the studies of Mollart (2013) and Martin *et al.* (2014), many of these pupils commented that they believed the relationship with their parents had improved since they moved away from home. Certainly, they had to learn to be more self-sufficient, independent and resourceful, and they started to appreciate just what their parents did for them at home, especially their mothers who were the traditional homemakers.

Pupils repeatedly referred to their longing for physical, loving interactions with family members, which confirms Schaverien (2011a), as well as suggests they might be feeling insecure or anxious due to their desire to be near their attachment figures (Bowlby, 1988). There was considerable evidence that for all pupils in this study, their family was hugely significant in their lives, giving them “belongingness”, something which Yildirim (1997) also found in his Turkish adolescents.

11.5 Key character traits to ease transition

Forrest School staff endeavoured to provide opportunities to develop skills to ease the transition and there were policies, procedures and practices in place with this in mind. Specific character traits made a difference to the smoothness with which pupils adjusted to their new life. Little is written about this in the literature.

Pupils who were open to each other, willing to share their experiences and support each other did better psychologically than those who were reserved and closed. Alev, for example, took a long time to open up with her peers, being offended by their comments at times but not expressing her feelings; she was hiding her ethnicity and her stilted, false interaction with her roommates caused difficulty. Her emotional response to others was influenced by her beliefs, confirming Cobb (2006). Being tolerant of others was found to be important, and accepting of differences; these 34 pupils were coming from very different cultures, with different habits, different socio-economic backgrounds and sometimes different beliefs. Pupils who demonstrated flexibility, consideration of others, empathy, a sense of fun and being relaxed had a much easier transition than others without such traits.

Pupils who adjusted well to the transition achieved a balance in their lives. As well as doing all that was necessary to stay afloat academically, they had good relationships with their peers, spending time with them, having fun and building those relationships; they usually found something which interested them in the new school environment, such as a co-curricular club, or a sport. Pupils who were less successful with transitioning were unsuccessful in achieving balance in their lives, and often were obsessive about certain areas: focusing only on her studies was an issue for Melis, not wanting to waste time with socializing; and Ebru rejected all offers of friendship from other residential girls saying she preferred to be alone. For some, the move to Forrest School meant that they achieved more balance in their lives than when they were at home: Nesrin, for example, accepted that she had become more social and was spending less time alone, playing computer games. The ability to maintain balance between all areas of their lives was an indication of a good transition to the school.

Self-confidence usually eased the transition, and Forrest School provided ways of encouraging pupils to trust in themselves. Ruşen was a good example of this with his relaxed self-assurance. Ada was also self-confident at first, with high English proficiency, but she was over-confident in her abilities, did not work diligently, and ranked 202nd at the end of the year. Resourcefulness was necessary, whether it take the form of searching out extra ways of learning English, or knowing who to turn to in difficult times, or navigating the journey from airport to school after a holiday at home.

A range of character traits fused to create a smooth transitional journey. Conversely, some characteristics severely impeded the transition: an unfriendly nature, obsessive tendencies, reluctance to trust, selfishness and stubbornness. Parents considering whether or not a residential school is the right choice for their child would be wise to consider their child's personality traits, level of maturity, and consider whether it is the right fit; while good schools do all they can to support the newcomer, without a willingness on the part of the child to adapt, it is a challenge. In short, pupils who had a blend of positive personal characteristics and interpersonal skills achieved a smoother transition to Forrest School.

11.6 Change over time

The longitudinal aspect of this study means that one can see how the pupils changed over the period of an academic year. Many pupils had to change if they wanted to succeed: they were no longer big fish in the little pond (Marsh and Hau, 2003) and so had to adjust, which could be especially challenging for those who arrived with low competency in the English language, and found themselves academically at the bottom of the pile. Initial "culture shock" (Lysgaard, 1955; Oberg, 1960) dissipated and by the end of the year, the pupils, by and large, had adjusted to their new way of life. That does not mean all were content with their new way of life.

Pupils frequently commented on how their habits had changed. Alev and Bora, for example, both recognized a growth in their confidence, whereas Mustafa noticed he was better organised and Elize said she learned to use her time more wisely. The increase in independence, while appreciated by the pupils, was not

measured from the parents' point of view: it would be interesting to discover how the parents viewed their child's change over the year at Forrest School. Change takes time, and the length of transition can vary from one pupil to another: schools need to recognize and respond to the non-uniformity of change journeys.

Ada credited Forrest School as the force in helping her change for the better:

Thank you Forrest School

For making me a good person

Ada: WR5

The change in English fluency and their ability to express themselves is not adequately reflected in the ELTiS scores, comparing the August score with the score 10 months later, but can be witnessed in their increased written fluency in the WRs and oral fluency in the second set of interviews. Not everyone changed for the better, however. Melis's unhappiness with the residential situation, for example, combined with prolonged "culture fatigue" (Guthrie, 1966), intensified throughout the year, contributing to the onset of an eating disorder.

11.7 Final remarks

All 34 pupils who moved to Forrest School had an intense experience. All pupils had some degree of challenge at some stage of the year. Each pupil had a unique reaction due to individual circumstances. For those who never completely transitioned to the new situation, in spite of interventions by the school, it could be suggested that residential life was not the best option for them. Strong memories were created, some extremely positive and unfortunately, some occasionally traumatic.

Strong friendships, an openness to new experiences, a healthy family relationship and an ability to balance opportunities all lend themselves to pupils creating a smooth transition. Appropriate school structures and routines, followed by caring and trained staff, are also crucial. Challenges to a smooth transition often related to the individual's unique circumstances; but communal life, with all its various joys and sorrows, clearly does not suit all. It must be remembered that the pupils taking part in this study were all highly able, with a bright, academic future ahead; consider how the situation might be different with less able, less ambitious, less fortunate and less forthcoming children. I hope that none of these pupils will, in

the future, suffer from a type of “boarding school syndrome” (Schaverien, 2011b), but a few, those who experienced an incomplete transition to residential life, did experience some degree of trauma during the year of the study.

The openness of the pupils in sharing their experiences has resulted in rich data. As Giorgi (2008, p.2) stated, “the data will always be richer than the perspective brought to it”. This chapter attempted to discuss the data collected from the residential pupils new to Forrest School, to derive meaning from their experience and to relate that to literature. It is to be hoped that in the future, more research into the lived experience of residential pupils will be undertaken, as concrete data is needed (Hodges, 2014), with the purpose of improving the experience, as was the case in this study, not just undertaken for marketing purposes to attract more families to choose a residential style of education.

12. Conclusion

This chapter summarises the key findings of this study, and identifies areas to be addressed related with policies and procedures, so that the needs of individuals are met during the transition to their new situation. In addition to a critical reflection, there are also suggestions for future research. This is one of very few independent studies into any aspect of residential life, a situation which needs to change in order to ensure the best possible care is taken of so many children at residential schools around the world. It has contributed to knowledge by discovering and illuminating the experiences of adolescent pupils transitioning to a highly competitive residential school.

12.1 Key findings of this study

Each pupil has a unique experience of transition.

Every child in this study had an individual, vivid and authentic response to the joys and challenges of residential life and transition to the school. No two pupils had the same experience; the individuality of each pupil's transition must be acknowledged and addressed.

Everyone experienced difficulty at some stage and to some degree.

Residential life is like holding a rose, it has good sides and sometimes bad sides too.

Ruşen: WR9

Every single pupil had some challenges at some stage adapting to Forrest School, and/or to residential life. Accepting that the transition will not necessarily be smooth is something which needs to be addressed well ahead of the move, so that pupils have realistic expectations of the experience. Boarding school staff have started to talk more about homesickness (Cox, 2017; Thomson, 2017) but transition is far more complex than this.

Having strong residential friendships aids transition.

The importance of pupils having strong friendships with residential peers is important to ease the transition: the opportunity to empathise, share and understand each other's experiences, and to provide support. Friends were

repeatedly likened to siblings, showing the intensity of the relationship. These friends contribute to the indelible memories being created. The few pupils who had problems creating friendships were unhappy.

There needs to be a balance in terms of study, interests and fun.

A pupil who is only concerned with academics, or with her individual interests, or with having fun, will not be successful in transitioning; a balance amongst these three areas produces a better, healthier transition. Schools must provide the structure for such a balance to be achievable.

Basic human needs should not be marginalised

The school should be concerned with the most basic human needs, such as food, sleep, cleanliness, health, security, warmth (multiple meanings of the word) and privacy. The quality of these has a direct effect on healthy, stable growth and development, physical as well as psychological.

Healthy family relationships underpin a smooth transition.

Since leaving behind family and moving to a new city requires a certain outlook, determination and maturity, the support of a strong, healthy family relationship, with family members who are invested in the change, is necessary.

Certain characteristic traits ease the transition but residential life is not the best option for all.

All pupils at the school were high achieving, academically capable children, all achieving maximum points on the 8th grade national examination. The pupils who were the most successful in adapting to their new situation were those who were optimistic, resourceful, fun-loving, mature and responsible, regardless of their academic or linguistic ability. This study has shown that not all pupils are suited to the residential life experience. The results of this research suggest that a second type of screening is advised, once the academic qualifications have been achieved, in order to ascertain whether residential life is the right fit for each pupil to thrive.

12.2 Implications for policies, procedures and practice

Given that this study focused on a specific group of children at one specific Turkish school at a specific period in time, generalisations cannot be transposed to different children, in different schools, in different countries, at different times. Nevertheless, this study has highlighted issues which could be prevalent in residential schools around the world, were others to look deeply at what goes on. Due to the rarity of academic research into pupils' experiences at boarding school, it is impossible to state categorically that what these pupils experienced is common elsewhere.

At the very least, this study can precipitate useful conversations amongst staff in residential schools, leading to policy review, so that their pupils achieve the optimum level of happiness and satisfaction. Of course, Forrest School will be reviewing policies and practices in light of the results. What should never be forgotten is that children do not always share how they are really feeling, that they feel they have to hide their emotions (Duffell, 2005; Hoare, 2014). The opportunity these participants had was somewhat cathartic in being asked to share their experiences. Finding ways to encourage children to share what they are feeling is important, and may lead to the employment of more qualified counsellors and psychologists within the residential setting.

Good practices identified in this study, such as the flatter hierarchical structures amongst pupils, the support provided by older pupils, ample free time provided, and opportunities to facilitate bonding, could well be of value to other residential schools. Above all, there must be at every level, from school-based to governmental regulatory leadership, a recognition that each child is an individual with individual needs which must be met. It is important that schools fulfill their charge thoughtfully and deliberately, setting in place policies, practices and routines which support, sustain and nourish each individual child.

To summarise, the main recommendations from this study are that:

- schools must recognize and respond to the uniqueness of each child's transition journey;

- pupils, parents and school staff must recognize and respond to the fact that each child may experience some difficulty at some stage of the transition, and it may not be at the start of the transition;
- schools should have structures in place to encourage bonding, encouraging genuine, supportive friendships, including between younger and older pupils;
- schools should fully support pupils' basic human needs;
- schools should encourage pupils to have balance in their lives;
- parents should be supportive of their child's move, maintaining a healthy relationship, even though from a distance;
- Forrest School should develop a second tier of screening, beyond academic performance, to assess the child's suitability for residential life.

12.3 Critical reflections

12.3.1 Limitations

This research was undertaken in a very specific setting, at a specific time and under specific circumstances. My unique relationship with the participants, as researcher, teacher and person responsible for residential life, also makes the research very specific. The case study results are not generalizable.

12.3.2 Methodological Success

A variety of situations resulted in rich data. Having constant access to the participants during the year-long process was important, especially for observations, some planned and some *ad hoc*. Rather than using a journal format which would have had random and unconnected pupil writing, the unique format of the Written Responses allowed for specific prompts to which the pupils responded, exhibiting a range of responses to specific topics. The structure of collecting these responses was efficient and effective. For phase two of the research, having two sets of interviews, one half way through the year and the second at the end of the year, was also successful in being able to see growth during the year, as well as drawing a close to the process.

12.3.3 Methodological Regret

Interviewing more, if not all, of the pupils for phase two of the research process would have been advantageous. With a few exceptions, it seems that they would have been willing and glad to share their experiences at length. However, pragmatically, that would have extended an already challenging research schedule.

One of the most challenging and regretful aspects of this study was learning about the unhappiness of some pupils, whether it be the loss of a grandparent, or because of others' hurtful comments or behaviours. Sometimes their sharing seemed cathartic. Had this research not been undertaken, the superficial contentment exhibited by most pupils would have remained unchallenged. However, everyone had some concern, worry or difficulty at some stage of the transition; this was an important revelation, in terms of their supervision at the school.

12.4 Areas for future research

The same research questions could be asked in studies of other new pupils at Forrest School, and the experiences compared. They could also be asked in other residential school settings around the world, either for comparison purposes or simply to discover what those pupils are experiencing.

There are so many other, related areas for future research since the experience of pupils at boarding school is seriously under-researched. Considering the large number of children attending boarding school, at considerable expense, financial as well as emotional, they deserve better. Therefore, learning the authentic experience of pupils in the residential setting should be a priority. Studies into the level of support pupils receive, including psychological support, would ultimately benefit those same pupils. Staffing needs to be investigated: staff attitudes and perceptions, their education and training, ratios of staff to pupils, the amount of time actually spent with the pupils, and the level of care provided.

12.5 Intended contribution to knowledge

This study attempts to fill the gap in research about the personal experience of pupils attending residential schools. Utilising contemporaneous, qualitative data fleshes out what little information exists elsewhere, largely gained retrospectively from quantitative methods. This study brings to life the actual experiences of the participants in a way rarely seen previously.

It also informs another rarely studied area, namely transition to boarding school. It questions the assumption that after occasional, initial bouts of homesickness, pupils adjust uniformly. Again, due to rich, descriptive data, different elements impacting the transition have been identified: the new culture of communal living, longing for family and home, academic concerns and competition, school structures and interventions, the importance of friendship and the role of family. This study suggests that the term “homesickness” is inadequate to describe what pupils moving to a residential school experience.

Since all participants were highly motivated, high achieving early adolescents, the study also contributes to knowledge in this area. More specifically, it highlights the experiences of such adolescents who are Turkish, living in their own country but away from home. The sociological data gathered connected with these Turkish pupils’ close ties with their family, who are out of sight but not out of mind, contributes to another area of knowledge.

The study can guide schools into reflecting on their practices and considering ways to improve their pupils’ experience. It can also be used as a foundation for guiding parents when considering whether or not their child would adapt easily to a residential situation, as well as what they can do to help their child’s transition: to my knowledge, there are rare examples of such guidance for parents.

This study highlights issues in the under-researched area of transition to boarding schools. It is to be hoped that more research will be undertaken so that children living far away from home will have a smoother transition to their new, communal life.

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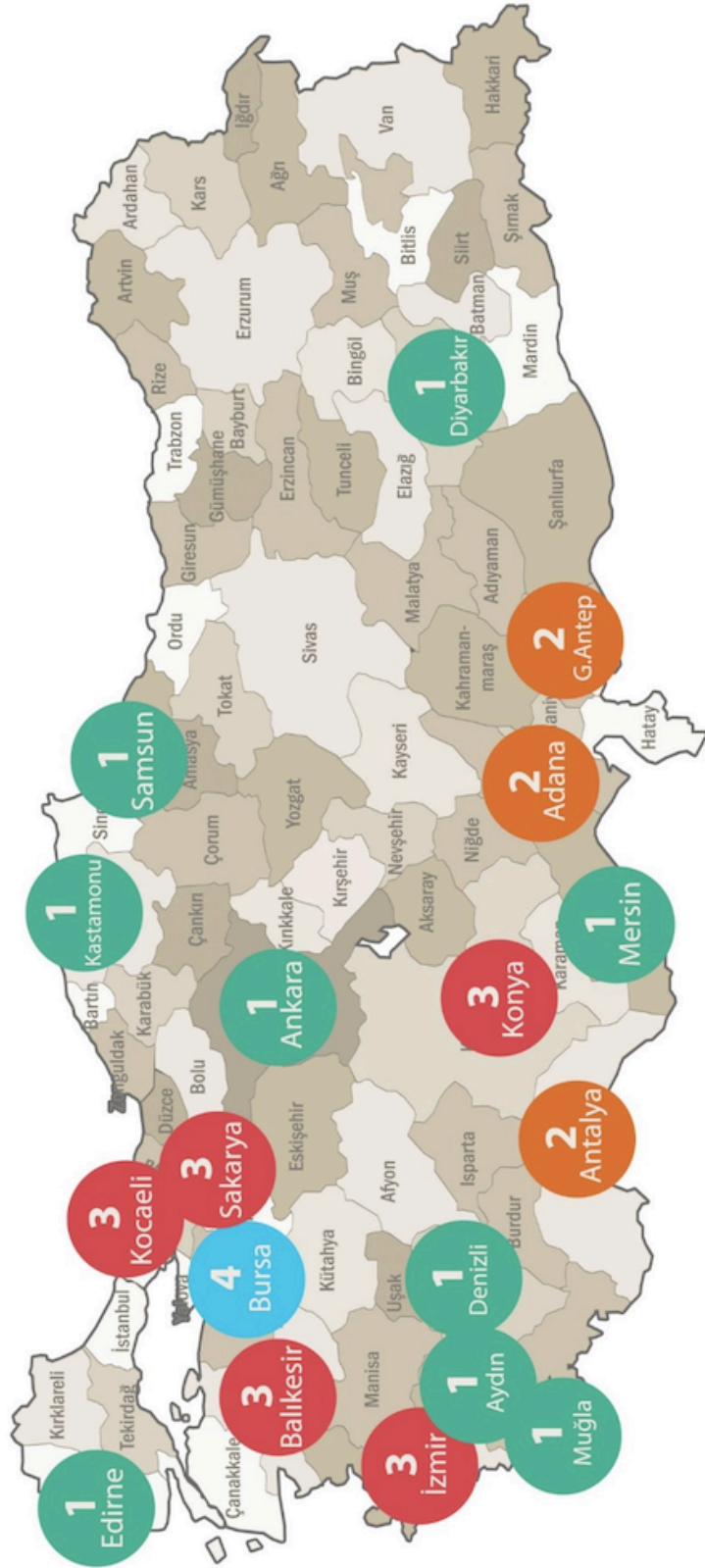
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14. Appendices

14.1 Appendix A. Table 3: Details of the participants

Name	Gender	5/7 day status	Scholarship	ELTiS score/ level Test 1	Siblings
Ada	Female	7	75%	230/ 5	yes
Alev	Female	7	85%	220/ 4	yes
Ali	Male	5	none	220/ 4	yes
Aysel	Female	7	none	205/ 3	yes
Bora	Male	7	none	233/ 5	no
Ebru	Female	7	100%	215/ 4	yes
Elize	Female	5	none	223/ 4	yes
Emre	Male	5	none	220/ 4	yes
Ezgi	Female	7	85%	209/ 3	yes
Gamze	Female	7	85%	203/ 3	yes
Kadriye	Female	7	100%	215/ 4	no
Kerim	Male	5	none	215/ 4	yes
Lale	Female	7	75%	203/ 3	yes
Lara	Female	7	none	210/ 3	no
Leyla	Female	7	none	217/ 4	no
Mehmet	Male	7	100%	192/ 3	yes
Melis	Female	7	75%	217/ 4	no
Mina	Female	5	100%	210/ 3	no
Mustafa	Male	7	none	223/ 4	no
Nejat	Male	7	75%	223/ 4	yes
Nesrin	Female	5	none	226/ 4	no
Nihat	Male	7	none	213/ 4	yes
Nur	Female	5	none	265/ 5	yes
Nuri	Male	7	none	217/ 4	yes
Ru�en	Male	5	25%	242/ 5	yes
R�ya	Female	7	100%	209/ 3	yes
Sabri	Male	7	85%	205/ 3	yes
Suzan	Female	7	none	238/ 5	yes
Taylan	Male	7	none	217/ 4	yes
Turhan	Male	7	100%	210/ 3	yes
Yoel	Male	5	none	217/ 4	yes
Yusuf	Male	7	none	196/ 3	yes
Zeki	Male	7	85%	203/ 3	yes
Zuhal	Female	5	100%	220/ 4	no

14.2 Appendix B. Map of hometowns of the 34 students who participated in this research



14.3 Appendix C. Table 4: Written Response (WR) return rate

WR	Total distributed	Total completed	Response rate
WR1	34	34	100%
WR2	34	34	100%
WR3	34	34	100%
WR4	34	31	91%
WR5	34	33	97%
WR6	33	32	97%
WR7	33	33	100%
WR8	33	33	100%
WR9	34	33	97%
TOTAL	303	297	98%

14.4 Appendix D. Written Response (WR) sheets

14.4.1 Written response 1

Name:

1. How are you feeling at the moment about staying in the Forrest School residence, and about being at this school?

Forrest School yurdunda kalacak olmak ve bu okulda bulunmak size ne hissettiriyor?

2. Who do you predict will be a good friend to you and why do think that? What characteristics does that person have?

Kiminle iyi arkadaşlık kurabileceğinizi tahmin edebiliyor musunuz, neden böyle düşünüyorsunuz? O kişinin ne tip özellikleri var?

Any further comments?/ *Ekleme istediğiniz başka bir şey var mı?*

14.4.2 Written response 2

Name:

Give up to 5 adjectives to describe how you are feeling right now!

Şu anda kendinizi nasıl hissettiğinizi ifade eden en fazla 5 sıfat yazın.

Please describe yourself, including your characteristics and successes.

Lütfen kendinizi tanımlayın, özelliklerinizi ve başarılarınızı belirtin.

Any further comments?/ *Ekleme istediğiniz başka bir şey var mı?*

14.4.3 Written response 3

Name (Adınız, soyadınız):

Did you go to your home for the bayram or where did you stay?/ *Bayramda evinize mi gittiniz, veya nerede kaldınız?*

What was the best part of going home/away for the bayram?/ *Bayramda eve gitmenin/başka bir yere gitmenin en güzel yanı neydi?*

What was the worst part of going home/away for the bayram?/ *Bayramda eve gitmenin/başka bir yere gitmenin en kötü yanı neydi?*

What was the best part of coming back to the residence?/ *Yurda dönmenin en iyi yanı neydi?*

What was the worst part of coming back to the residence?/ *Yurda dönmenin en kötü yanı neydi?*

How was it to see your old friends from your hometown?/ *Evinizin olduğu şehre dönüp eski arkadaşlarınızı görmek nasıl bir şeydi?*

Which FS friends did you communicate with while you were away? Please give their names and how you contacted them, e.g. Whats App, talking on the phone, etc./ *Tatildeyken hangi FS arkadaşlarınızla iletişim kurdunuz? Lütfen adlarını verin ve ne şekilde iletişim kurduğunuzu (Whats App, telefon, vb.) belirtin.*

Did you bring back anything special from home to help remind you of home? If so, what did you bring?/ *Size evinizi hatırlatması için evden özel bir şey getirdiniz mi? Yanıtınız “evet” ise, ne getirdiniz?*

Anything else you would like to share about your week away?/ *Yurttan uzakta geçirdiğiniz hafta hakkında paylaşmak istediğiniz başka bir şey var mı?*

Any further comments?/ *Ekleme istediğiniz başka bir şey var mı?*

Thank you!! *Teşekkürler!*

14.4.4 Written response 4

Name (Adınız, soyadınız):

1. Please explain as fully as you can about the people who have helped you/are helping you adjust to life at Forrest School/ *Forrest School yaşamına alışmanıza daha önce ve halen yardımcı olan kişileri olabildiğince ayrıntılı anlatın.*

a) With your school work / *Derslerinizle ilgili çalışmalarınızda*

b) With living away from home / *Evinizden uzak yaşamak konusunda*

2. What do YOU do to help yourself adjust to life at Forrest School?/ *Forrest School yaşamına alışmak için KENDİNİZ ne yapıyorsunuz?*

a) concerning your school work / *derslerinizle ilgili çalışmalarınızda*

b) concerning living away from home / *evinizden uzak yaşamak konusunda*

Any further comments?/ *Ekleme istediğiniz başka bir şey var mı?*

You can continue writing on the other side of the paper, if you wish./ *İsterseniz sayfanın arkasına yazmaya devam edebilirsiniz.*

14.4.5 Written response 5

Name (***Adınız, soyadınız***):

How do you think you have changed (IF you have changed) since you came to Forrest School?/ *Forrest School'a geldiğinizden beri sizde ne gibi bir değişim olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? (EĞER değiştiyseniz)*

Any further comments?/ *Ekleme istediğiniz başka bir şey var mı?*

14.4.6 Written response 6

Name (**Adınız, soyadınız**):

This week, I would like to find out about how your Internet use and mobile phone use is helping you adjust to life at FS. Again, please let me stress that this information is confidential, that I will not be sharing the information with others, including your parents! It is only if I was worried about you that I would share with Nimet abla, but so far, I have not had to do that!

Thinking about YESTERDAY, approximately:

How many minutes did you TALK on the phone with your family? Who did you talk to?	
How many messages (whats app/sms, etc) did you send to family members yesterday?	
How many messages did you send to friends from home yesterday? NOT FS friends.	
How many minutes did you play games on your phone yesterday?	
How many minutes did you use your laptop for school work after school, i.e. from 3.10pm until you were asleep?	
How many minutes did you use your laptop for other things (not school work) from 3.10pm until you were asleep? Please state what you were doing and how many minutes for each activity, e.g. watching a serial for 60 minutes or playing games for 45 minutes.	

How do you think the residential rules could change to make your life easier with phone/laptop use?

Any further comments?

Thank you!

Name (Adınız, soyadınız):

Bu hafta, FS yaşamına alışmanızda İnternet ve cep telefonu kullanmanın size nasıl yardımcı olduğunu öğrenmek istiyorum. Bir kez daha tekrarlayayım: bu bilgiler gizlidir, veliniz dahil hiç kimseyle paylaşmayacağım! Sadece sizin hakkınızda endişe duyarsam Nimet Abla'yla paylaşabilirim, fakat bugüne kadar buna gerek olmadı!

DÜN YAPTIKLARINIZI düşünün ve rakamları olabildiğince doğru vermeye çalışın:

<i>Ailenizle kaç dakika telefonda KONUŞTUNUZ? Kiminle/kimlerle konuştunuz?</i>	
<i>Dün ailenizdeki bireylere kaç mesaj (app, SMS vb.) gönderdiniz?</i>	
<i>Dün eski arkadaşlarınıza (FS arkadaşlarınız DEĞİL) kaç mesaj gönderdiniz?</i>	
<i>Dün telefonunuzda kaç dakika oyun oynadınız?</i>	
<i>Ders saatlerinin bitiminden sonra (15:10'dan sonra, uyuyana kadar) laptopunuzu ödevler/derslerle ilgili çalışmalar için kaç dakika kullandınız?</i>	
<i>15:10'dan sonra, uyuyana kadar laptopunuzu başka şeyler için (derslerle ilgili olmayan şeyler) kaç dakika kullandınız? Lütfen neler yaptığınızı ve her bir etkinliğin kaç dakika sürdüğünü belirtin – örneğin 60 dakika dizi izlemek, 45 dakika oyun oynamak.</i>	

Yaşamınızı kolaylaştırmak için, telefon ve laptop kullanımı hakkındaki yurt kurallarında nasıl bir değişiklik yapılabileceğini düşünüyorsunuz?

Ekleme istediğiniz başka bir şey var mı?

Teşekkürler!

14.4.7 Written response 7

Name (Adınız, soyadınız):

Where will you be for this coming long weekend? /*Bu hafta sonu, uzayan tatilde, nerede kalacaksınız?*

What are you looking forward to, when you next go home? Please list everything you can think of and BE SPECIFIC, e.g. instead of "Seeing my family", write something more exact such as "Hugging my little sister".
İlk fırsatta evinize gidince en çok yapmak istediğiniz şey nedir? Lütfen aklınıza gelen her şeyi yazın ve TAM OLARAK BELİRTİN, örneğin "Ailemi görmek" yerine "Küçük kardeşime sarılmak" gibi daha tanımlayıcı şeyler yazın.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

Any further comments / *Ekleme istediğiniz başka bir şey var mı?*

Thank you!! *Teşekkürler!*

14.4.8 Written response 8

Name:

Please complete these sentences to express your feelings. Be sure to make complete sentences.

1. I enjoy ...
2. Friendship means ...
3. What annoys me is ...
4. My earliest memory is ...
5. Loneliness is ...
6. Without my mobile phone, ...
7. I regret that ...
8. I wish for ...
9. I want to be ...
10. The most special thing to me is ...

Any comments?

Thank you!

14.4.9 Written response 9

Name:

1. What is the one thing you are MOST looking forward to, when you go home for the summer?

2. Think carefully: what, if anything, will you miss about residential life when you are at home this summer? Please be as specific as possible.

3. What have you disliked about this year?

4. What has been the best memory of your LP year?

5. Give 3 adjectives to describe residential life at FC (no *yağcılık* [sycophancy] please!)

6. Please complete this simile:

Residential life [*yatılılık*] is like....

7. What advice would you give to a new residential LP for next year?

8. What advice do you have for the residential staff for next year?

9. What do you wish you had done differently this year?

10. Give a mark out of 10 for your residential life experience this year, and please explain your grade. Again, no *yağcılık* [sycophancy] please.

Any further comments?

Thank you!

Your contribution throughout the year has been extremely useful.

Have a great summer!

14.5 Appendix E. Interview scripts

14.5.1 Interview 1

Thank you for agreeing to come for this interview today. I appreciate you giving up your free time on a weekend. Would you like to speak in Turkish or in English?

Since I will be giving the same questions to others, I need to follow a written script, which is why I will keep looking at this piece of paper!

Let me remind you why this is happening. We are here because of my research for a doctoral degree at the University of Bath in England, not at all in my official role as Dean of Student Affairs. I am interested in how students transition to boarding schools: their *geçiş*. As I said previously when you were doing the written responses in the study hall, I will not be sharing anything you tell me with anyone else at FS, UNLESS I am worried about you. When I write up my thesis, no students will be named.

Please tell me what you really think, not what you think I want to hear. No *yağcılık* [sycophancy]! Your true opinions and feelings are really important for me.

You have been chosen to be interviewed because.....

[add the reasons for each individual]

Do you allow me to record our conversation so that I can listen to it again more carefully, and fully understand what you are saying?

[If no, can I take notes as you are talking?]

Do you have any questions before we start?

[START RECORDING]

What are you proud of from the first semester?

[deliberately vague, to see what they focus on: academics, adjustment, family-related, club related?]

What are your goals for the 2nd semester? [again, deliberately vague]

Can you show me what you have brought which is special to you?

Can you explain why this is so special?

Tell me about a happy time here and an unhappy time.

Tell me about your family. Who are you very close to and how is that relationship so special?

How often do you communicate with that person? How? Who calls who mostly?

How often do you communicate with your parents? How? Who calls who mostly?

How did it feel coming back last Sunday, after 2 weeks holiday with your family? Can you describe the point when you left them? When will you next go home or see your parents?

Who is your best friend?

[deliberately vague, not asking about best friend at FS]

What makes that person your best friend?

What is your definition of friendship?

How are your friends at home with you, now that you have had a whole semester at FS? Have your relationships changed now that you have gone in different directions?

Did your primary school help to prepare you for FS?

Was it YOU who really wanted to come here, or your parents?

Why did you come here?

Do you think you have changed since you have come here? If so, how?

I've seen your report card but I'd like to hear from you how you think you are doing in your classes.

When you first came here, what did you do to help you forget about home and family, when you were missing them?

Do you think any past experiences helped you to adjust?

Do you think students or adults (including your counsellor, Residential Advisers, etc.) or your family members helped you adjust to life here?

What do you do if you are feeling sad or worried about something?

Are you worried about anything, or scared about anything now?

[If necessary, give examples, e.g. I am terrified of snakes, and I also worry about anything bad happening to my children.]

What has been the most distressing/upsetting issue since you moved to FS? How did you cope with it? Take your time to think about it.

Do you have a strong memory of when you moved here?

What habits did some of your new friends have which you thought were strange?

How did it feel when you first came here, having to share a room, a bathroom, etc?

Did you make friends easily?

Which residential student is the most popular do you think, and why?

Tell me about sleeping in the residence. Lots of students wrote in their responses that they felt sleepy. What prevents you (and others) from sleeping well?

[If Internet/gaming/mobile phone use is brought up, probe deeper]

Tell me about the food here and the cafeteria. What do you do when you get hungry? Do you have food in your room? What food from home do you miss?

Have you been ill while here? Can you tell me about that and what happened to help you get better?

What is the best part and the worst part of being here?

[deliberately vague to see whether they refer to academics or the residence or Istanbul]

Is there anything else you would like to tell me?

Thank you so much for being so willing to talk to me. It has been so helpful. If you think of anything else which you wish you had told me, you can always email me.

Please do not tell other students exactly what we talked about as it is important for everyone to answer the questions without preparing the answers.

How did this feel? Is there anything I should change when I do this with other students?

In June, before you leave for the summer, might you be willing to talk some more? I'd like to hear back from you in June about what we should change, to make the experience for LPs better.

14.5.2 Interview 2

Thank you for agreeing to come for this interview today. I appreciate you giving up your free time. Since I will be giving the same questions to others, I need to follow a written script, which is why I will keep looking at this piece of paper!

I think you remember why I am doing this, for my research at Bath University. When I write up my thesis, no students will be named. I'm Margaret the researcher now, not Mrs. Halcioğlu, the Dean of Student Affairs.

Please tell me what you really think, not what you think I want to hear. No *yağcılık* [sycophancy]! Your true opinions and feelings are really important for me.

Do you allow me to record our conversation so that I can listen to it again more carefully, and fully understand what you are saying?

[If no, can I take notes as you are talking?]

Do you have any questions before we start?

[START RECORDING]

What difficulties have you faced and what did you do to solve those difficulties?

How have relationships with your family changed during the year?

How have your friendships changed this year?

Tell me about a happy time here and an unhappy time this semester.

What behaviours in other students do you see which you don't like?

Do you think you have changed since you have come here? If so, how?

Tell me about your relationship with your counsellor, Nimet hanım. How often do you go to see her?

Anything you want to tell me about boys and ‘joking’ in the residence?
[a question just for the boys]

We have some students in the residence on scholarship and some whose parents pay fees. Do you know who is on scholarship? Have you witnessed anything which made you uncomfortable from an economic point of view?

Is there anything else you would like to tell me?

Thank you so much for being so willing to talk to me. It has been very helpful. If you think of anything else which you wish you had told me, you can always email me.

Please do not tell other students exactly what we talked about as it is important for everyone to answer the questions without preparing the answers.

14.6 Appendix F. Table 5: Interview duration

Name	1st interview duration (mins.)	2nd interview duration (mins.)
Alev	58.19	17.42
Ebru	56.45	22.33
Emre	41.08	20.05
Mehmet	52.08	26.57
Melis	37.15	15.18
Nesrin	29.19	13.45

14.7 Appendix G. Table 6: Codes, clustered codes and themes

Code	Code cluster	Theme	
Distraction	Means of distraction	The journey of transition	
Music			
Sports			
What doesn't kill us makes us stronger	Resignation		
Sacrifice			
Resignation			
Luck			
Alışmak [to get used to]	Adjustment		
Change			
Orientation programme			
Anxiety	Stress		
Challenge			
Concept of fairness			
Concerns for the future			
Confusion			
Crying			
Despair			
Disappointment			
Hiding feelings			
Regret			
Stress			
Worries			
Risk-taking			
Confidence			Personal characteristics
Courage			
Imagination			
Maturity			
Optimism			
Organisation			
Perseverance			
Pragmatism			
Self-awareness			
Social skills			
Intellectual capacity			
Tolerance			

Code	Code cluster	Theme
Debt to family	Family	The importance of family and home
Own family		
Gratitude		
Guilt		
Home	Home	
Hometown		
Items from home		
Loss of home life		
Turkey		
Broadened horizons	New opportunities	The importance of achieving balance
Clubs and school activities		
Learning new things		
New experiences		
Opportunity to improve		
Art		
Opposite sex		
Academic difficulty	Academics	
English level		
Food	Food	The importance of meeting basic needs
Home food		
Not eating and weight control		
School food		
Privacy issues	Personal space	
Respect		
Illness	Psychological, physical and spiritual health	
Physical symptoms		
Counselling		
Support		
Sleep		
Noise		
Trust		
Religion		
Belonging		
Emotion		
Laughter		
Feeling of success		
Touch		
Loneliness		

Code	Code cluster	Theme
Prestige	Pride	Attachment to Forrest School
Privilege		
Pride		
Right choice		
Advice for newcomers		
Dream come true		
Entitlement		
Ambition	Academics	
Competition		
Plans after graduation		
Study		
Teachers		
Happy with school	Contentment	
How FS is different		
Boarding vs. day		
Friendship	Community life	The new experience of residential life
Mentors		
RL staff		
RL as family		
Acceptance of differences		
Shared experience		
Second home		
RL activities		
Community life		
Independence and responsibility		
Travel		
Habit-developing		
Rules		
Disadvantages of RL	Feelings about RL	
Happy with RL		
Post-bayram feelings about returning		
Communication during the bayram	Communication tools	
Computer-use		
Mobile phone		
Skype		
Friendship	Friends	The importance of friendship
Hometown friends		

2 codes did not fit into clusters or themes: “Reaction to the research” and “Dean of Student Affairs” reference.

14.8 Appendix H. Turkish to English translations

4.6

p.76

Creative, determined, natural, stubborn, emotional.
Yaratıcı, azimli, doğal, inatçı, duygusal.

Alev: Pupil Profile

5.4

p.81

Thoughtful friends.
Düşünceli arkadaşlar.

Emre: Pupil Profile

5.5

p.83

To pay back to my family what they have done for me.
Ailemin benim için yaptıklarının karşılığını onlara vermek.

Emre: Pupil Profile

p.83

Someone who works hard for what he wants.
Bir şeyi istediğinde bunun için çok çalışan biridir.

Emre: Pupil Profile

6.3

p.91

To hug my brother.
To talk with my brother.
To go out with my brother.
To go again to my brother's university.
Abime sarılmak.
Abimle konuşmak.
Abimle dışarıda gezmek.
Abimin üniversitesine tekrar gitmek.

Ebru: WR7

6.4

p.92

Before I came to FS, there was no topic that I wouldn't understand, but now I feel that I don't understand anything at all.
FS'ye gelene kadar anlamadığı konu olmayan birisiydim, ama artık hiçbir şey anlamadığımı hissediyorum.

Ebru: WR2

7.1

p.99

Humble, easy-going, intelligent, talented and anxious.
Alçakgönüllü, uyumlu, zeki, yetenekli, kaygılı.

Mehmet: Pupil Profile. Translated.

7.2

p.99

My brother and my mother.

Kardeşim ve annemi.

Mehmet: Pupil Profile

7.3

p.101

To be honest, my English is bad, and I do my best. I consult my friends, I try to do my homework.

Açıkçası İngilizcem kötü ve elimden geleni yapmaya çalışıyorum. Arkadaşlarıma danışıyorum, ödevlerimi yapmaya çalışıyorum.

Mehmet: WR4

7.7

p.105

It is everyone's dream to attend Forrest School, so I am quite lucky. Besides, after graduation or during further studies, it gives great prestige to reply "FS" when someone asks which school we attended. This is a school of good reputation.

Forrest School'da eğitim almak zaten herkesin hayali, bu yüzden oldukça şanslıyım. Ayrıca bu okuldan mezun olduktan sonra veya eğitim alacağımız zamanlarda "Hangi okulda okudun/okuyorsun?" sorusuna "FS" demek çok havalı. Ayrıca isim yapmış bir okul.

Mehmet: WR1

p.105

I am also lucky to be a residential student. I can establish more relationships with friends, and it is fun.

Yatılı olarak, bu yönden de çok şanslıyım. arkadaşlarla daha çok iletişim kurabiliyorum ve çok eğlenceli geçiyor.

Mehmet: WR1

8.2

p.107

To be able to speak and understand English as though it were my native language.

İngilizceyi anadilim gibi iyi konuşmak ve anlayabilmek.

Melis: Pupil Profile

p.107

Unsuccessful when compared with other pupils.

Diğer öğrencilerin yanında başarısız olmak.

Melis: Pupil Profile

p.108

Even though I don't play games or watch TV series, I cannot study fully. I get very stressed, my entire body itches, and I can barely refrain from crying in class.

Oyun oynamama ve dizi izlemememe rağmen tam çalışamıyorum. Çok stress oluyorum her tarafım kaşınıyor ve derslerde ağlamamak için kendimi zor tutuyorum.

Melis: WR6

8.3

p.109

It is as if I put up a wall between us. We used to talk and laugh all the time in the past, but this time we only kept silent. It was as if we were distanced. I felt very sorry because we had been friends since we were born.

Sanki onunla arama bir duvar koymuşum gibi. Eskiden sürekli konuşup gülerdik ama bu sefer sadece sustuk. Birbirimizden uzaklaşmış gibiydik. Kendisiyle doğduğumdan beri arkadaş olduğum için çok üzuldüm.

Melis: WR3

8.5

p.111

I don't think that it will be of any benefit to us to constantly remember the things that are far away from us, other than upsetting us.

Uzak kaldığımız şeyleri sürekli hatırlamanın bizi üzmemekten başka bir işe yarayacağını sanmıyorum.

Melis: WR3

p.111

Far from the eyes, far from the heart.

Göz görmeyince gönül özlemez.

Melis: 2nd interview

p.111

It would be stupid in any case to try to dismiss my mother from my mind, my mother with whom I shared the same house since I was born. But one gets used to everything with time.

Doğumumdan bu yaşa kadar aynı evi paylaştığım annemi aklımdan çıkarmaya çalışmak zaten çok saçma olur. Ama insan zamanla herşeye alışıyor.

Melis: WR4

p.112

To sleep while I am hugging my mother.

Gece anneme sarılıp uyumak.

Melis: WR7

8.6

p.113

I really get very irritated when I face some situations where the informal atmosphere in the residence is abused, for example when my friends in other rooms show up unexpectedly in the middle of the room. Because, when they come in, we may be in inappropriate attire (getting dressed after taking a bath), or engaged in studying.

Yurttaki samimi ortamın suistismle edildiği bazı saygısız durumlarda örneğin diğer odalarda kalan arkadaşlarımın kapıyı çalmadan veya haber vermeden odanın ortasında bitivermelerine gerçekten çok sinirleniyorum. Çünkü içeri girdikleri zaman uygun olmayan bir şekilde (banyodan çıkmış giyinirken) olabiliyor veya konsantre olmuş bir şekilde ders çalışıyor olabiliyoruz.

Melis: WR1

8.7

p.114

I feel a need to consult the counselling service.

Rehberlik servisiyle görüşme ihtiyacı duyuyorum.

Melis: WR7

9.3

p.118

When I see my residence friends who study, it motivates me to study as well. Especially Gamze works very hard. When I watch her, I feel that I must also work.

Yurttaki arkadaşlarımın çalışmalarını izlemek bende çalışma isteği uyandırıyor. Özellikle Gamze çok çalışıyor. Ve onu izlerken çalışmam gerektiğini düşünüyorum.

Nesrin: WR4

p.118

Friendly, a source of joy, cute, lives for the moment, funny.

Arkadaş canlısı, mutluluk kaynağı, sevimli, anı yaşayan, komik.

Nesrin: Pupil Profile

9.5

p.120

My friends became like family to me.

Arkadaşlarım ise ailem gibi oldu.

Nesrin: WR4

10.1.1

p.122

My family = My everything.

Ailem = Herşeyim.

Yoel: WR2

p.122

I miss those faces that I used to see every day, but I am getting used to this quickly.

Her gün gördüğüm yüzleri görememek onları özlememe neden oluyor ama bu duruma çabuk alışıyorum.

Mina: WR1

p.123

When I said farewell to my family before boarding the bus, my mother and my maternal grandmother wept. This upset me a little.

Otobüse binmeden önce ailemle vedalaştığımda annem ve anneannem ağlamıştı, bu biraz üzdü beni.

Mehmet: WR3

p.123

My family members do not show their sadness; they smile and they support me; if they didn't do this, I couldn't cope. My family's faith in me facilitates things.

Ailem üzüntüsünü dışa vurmuyor, gülüyor ve destekliyorlar bunları yapmasalar yapamazdım. Ailemin bana inanması işleri kolaylaştırıyor.

Taylan: WR4

p.123

I feel like I'm separated from my family, but actually, I got closer to them.

Ailemden ayrılmış gibi hissediyorum ama aslında aileme daha da yakınlaştım.

Sabri: WR1

10.1.2

p.124

I learned to live with a crowd.

Kalabalık içinde yaşamayı öğrendim.

Taylan: WR5

p.125

Life in the residence reduces privacy to the minimum level. Not only physically, but our opinions and thoughts are also disclosed.

Yurtta kalmak mahremiyeti minimum seviyeye indiriyor. Sadece fiziksel olarak değil düşünsel olarak ta görüşlerimiz ve düşüncelerimiz deşifre oluyor.

Melis: WR1

10.1.3

p.128

My English is worse than all others' in the class. I almost don't understand anything. I am very scared of not understanding anything for the entire year. I have been very stressed these past days. My hands always used to get sweaty because of physical conditions and because of stress. They have been sweaty for days. I am so stressed, because, when everybody else laughs at jokes in class, I only stare blankly.

Benim İngilizcem sınıftakilerin hepsinden daha kötü. Nerdeyse hiçbirşey anlamıyorum. Tüm sene boyunca hiçbir şey anlayamamaktan çok korkuyorum.... Çok stres yaptım bu son birkaç günde. Ellerim acayip derecede terlerdi önceden hem fiziksel nedenlerden hem de strese girince terlerdi. Birkaç gün boyunca hep terliydi. O kadar stres altındayım çünkü Sınıfta espiri yapıldığında herkes gülerken ben boş boş bakıyorum.

Turhan: WR1

p.128

I feel like I never have enough time; like everyone else studies more, everyone can do everything, and I am the only one who is unable to do so.
Zaman yetiremiyorum ve yurttta herkes benden daha fazla ders çalışıyor, herkes her şeyi yapıyor da bir ben yapamıyordum gibi hissediyorum.

Ezgi WR3

10.2.1

p.129

We live as a community. No one is in her own house or her own room. Therefore we must think before we do something, and demonstrate respect to others.
Biz bir topluluk halinde yaşıyoruz. Kimse kendi evinde kendi odasında değil. Bu nedenle bir şeyi yaparken önce düşünmeli ve başkalarına da saygılı olmalıyız.

Gamze: WR1

10.2.2

p.130

One doesn't have time to think about home and to be upset. Forrest School is really good from this aspect (orientation, etc.)
Evi düşünüp üzülmeye vakit bulamıyorsunuz. Forrest School bu yönden gerçekten iyi. (oryantasyon vs.)

Mehmet: WR4

10.2.3

p.131

Presently I am incredibly happy. It is wonderful to be a boarder. My room, my friends and the residence are all very good.
Ben şuan inanılmaz mutluyum. Yatılı olmak çok güzel bir şey. Bulunduğum oda, arkadaşlarım ve yurt çok güzel.

Taylan: WR1

p.132

The best thing about returning to the dorm is to be always with people my age, and to be relieved of family pressure. For example, we don't have to constantly ask for permission to go somewhere or to do something.
Yurda dönmenin en iyi yanı, sürekli kendi yaşıtlarımla birlikte olup aile baskısından kurtulmak. Mesela bir yere gitmek yada bir şey yapmak için sürekli izin almamıza gerek kalmıyor.

Ezgi: WR3

10.2.4

p.133

I am more independent and more responsible. Whereas in the past my mother took care of everything, I know that now I must think out the smallest things about myself; and I try to act accordingly.

Daha özgür ve sorumluyum. Eskiden annem düşünmesine rağmen şimdi kendim hakkımdaki en ufak şeyi bile düşünmem gerektiğini biliyorum; ve ona göre davranmaya çalışıyorum.

Ezgi: WR5

10.2.5

p.134

I have more contacts with the boarders, we spend more time together, we get to know each other more, and we become close.

Yatılılarla iletişim daha çok kuruyorum, daha çok vaktimiz geçiyor, birbirimizi daha çok tanıyoruz ve yakınlaşıyoruz.

Mehmet: WR1

p.134

But it comforts me to know that many other people feel the same way as I do.

Ama benim gibi bir sürü insan aynı duyguyu yaşadığını bilmek beni rahatlatıyor.

Ezgi: WR4

p.135

It was strange. While everyone else's life revolved in the same orbit, I left my orbit by going to a boarding school, I disrupted the routine.

Garipti. Herkesin hayatı aynı yörüngede dönerken ben yatılı okula gidip yörüngeden çıkmışım, rutini bozmuşum.

Ezgi: WR3

10.2.6

p.136

I watch movies with English subtitles, I listen to songs, and I read books. I review my notebooks daily. I consult online sites.

İngilizce altyazılı dizi izliyorum, şarkı dinliyorum, kitap okuyorum. Her gün defter tekrarı yapıyorum. Online sitelerden destek alıyorum.

Ebru: WR4

10.2.7

p.136

When I feel I am going to miss my home and my old friends, I go next to other people, and I try to get this idea out of my mind. I remind myself about how happy I am here.

Evimi, eski arkadaşlarımı özleyecek gibi olduğumda insanların yanına gidiyorum ve bu konuyu aklımdan uzaklaştırmaya çalışıyorum. Burada ne kadar mutlu olduğumu hatırlıyorum kendi kendime.

10.2.8

p.137

I am a little upset because I will be away from my mother. But this is not a big issue, because hardships make us stronger on our path to achieve something.
Biraz üzgünüm çünkü annemden ayrı olacağım. Ama sıkıntı yok. Çünkü bir şeyi başarma yolundaki sıkıntılar bizi daha çok güçlendirir.

Kadriye: WR1

p.138

I feel more self-confident. Because I proved to myself that I could be a boarder.
Kendimi daha özgüvenli hissediyorum. Çünkü yatılı kalabileceğimi kendime ispatladım.

Lara: WR5

p.138

I feel as if I began to talk more. I gained confidence. Whereas I had difficulty to communicate in the past, now I can speak more comfortably. In my opinion, FS definitely played a role in this.
Sanki biraz daha fazla konuşmaya başladım. Kendime güvenim geldi. Eskiden iletişim kurmakta zorlanırken artık daha rahat konuşabiliyorum. Bence bunda FS'in kesinlikle etkisi var.

Nur: WR5

10.3

p.139

Sometimes very amusing, sometimes tiring, sometimes very complex, sometimes very lonely, and sometimes very knowledgeable or grown up. What I mean is that, my feelings can be different, depending on the adventures that I experience in the day.

Bazen çok eğlenceli, bazen çok yorucu bazen çok karmaşık, bazen çok yalnız, bazen çok bilgili veya büyümüş hissettiriyor. Demek istediğim o gün yaşadığım olaylar o gün başımdan geçen maceralara göre çeşitli duygular hissediyorum.

Rüya: WR1

p.140

Sometimes I cannot believe how I entered this school, and I feel that I didn't deserve this, but at other times I think that I have been successful and that I deserved it.

Bazen bu okulda nasıl girdiğime inanamıyor ve bu okula girmeyi hak etmediğimi bazen ise başarılı olup girmeyi hak ettiğimi düşünüyorum.

Nuri: WR1

11.1

p.146

Sometimes I feel very sad, but I know that I must make big sacrifices in order to achieve big things.

Bazen çok üzülüyorum ama büyük şeyler için büyük fedakarlıklar yapmam gerektiğini biliyorum.

Taylan: WR4

14.9 Appendix I. Consent forms

14.9.1 Parent permission form

Forrest School Yatılı Öğrencilerinin Yurt Yaşamları Hakkında Araştırma

Veli İzin Formu

Bu araştırma, Margaret L. Halıcıoğlu tarafından İngiltere'deki Bath Üniversitesinde sürdürmekte olduğu doktora programı kapsamında yapılmaktadır.

Lütfen uygun gördüğünüz seçeneği işaretleyiniz:

- ☐ Çocuğumun XXX-XXX ders yılında yatılı yaşamıyla ilgili izlenimleri hakkında Margaret Halıcıoğlu'nun kendisinden bilgi almasına (örneğin anket veya mülakat yaparak) izin veriyorum.
- ☐ Çocuğumun XXX-XXX ders yılında yurt yaşamıyla ilgili izlenimleri hakkında Margaret Halıcıoğlu'nun kendisinden bilgi almasına (örneğin anket veya mülakat yaparak) izin vermiyorum.

Öğrencinin adı:

Velisinin adı:

Velisinin imzası:

Tarih:

Translation of the parental permission form:

Research into the residential life experience of Forrest School students

Parent permission form

This research is conducted by Margaret L. Halicioğlu as part of a doctoral programme at the University of Bath, England.

Please tick whichever applies:

☐ I give permission for Margaret Halicioğlu to gather information from my child (e.g. by survey or interview) about his/her experiences as a residential student during the academic year XXX-XXX.

☐ I do not give permission for Margaret Halicioğlu to gather information from my child (e.g. by survey or interview) about his/her experiences as a residential student during the academic year XXX-XXX.

Name of student:

Name of parent:

Signature of parent:

Date:

14.9.2 Pupil permission form

Forrest School Yatılı Öğrencilerinin Yurt Yaşamları Hakkında Araştırma

Öğrenci İzin Formu

Bu araştırma, Margaret L. Halıcıoğlu tarafından İngiltere'deki Bath Üniversitesinde sürdürmekte olduğu doktora programı kapsamında yapılmaktadır.

Lütfen uygun gördüğünüz seçeneği işaretleyiniz:

- ☐ Margaret Halıcıoğlu'nun XXX-XXX eğitim-öğretim yılında yatılı yaşamı hakkındaki araştırmasına katılmayı kabul ediyorum. Tezini yazdığı zaman adımı gizli tutacağını anlamış bulunuyorum. Ayrıca, yazdığım herhangi bir şeyden dolayı benim hakkımda endişe duyduğu takdirde, rehberimle görüşeceğini biliyorum. Herhangi bir şey paylaşmak istemediğim haftalar, katılmama hakkım saklıdır: sorusuna yanıt vermek yerine boş bir kağıt verebilirim.
- ☐ Margaret Halıcıoğlu'nun XXX-XXX eğitim-öğretim yılında yapacağı araştırmaya katılmayı kabul etmiyorum.

Öğrencinin adı:

Öğrencinin imzası:

Tarih:

Translation of the pupil permission form:

Research into the residential life experience of Forrest School students

Student permission form

This research is conducted by Margaret L. Halicioğlu as part of a doctoral programme at the University of Bath, England.

Please tick whichever applies:

☐ I agree to participate in Margaret Halicioğlu's research into the residential life experience, during the academic year XXX-XXX. I understand that I will remain anonymous in her thesis. I also understand that she may have to approach my counsellor if she feels that anything I have written indicates I am at risk. Each week, I have the right to not participate, if I don't feel like sharing: I may choose to hand in a blank piece of paper rather than respond to what she is asking.

☐ I do not agree to participate in Margaret Halicioğlu's research during the academic year XXX-XXX.

Name of student:

Signature of student:

Date:

14.10 Appendix J. Table 7: Level of contentment with residential life (RL), 5/7 day status and end-of-year rank

Name	5/7 day status	Mark out of 10 for RL	End of year rank
Lara	7	8	10
Alev	7	7	17
Leyla	7	7	20
Melis	7	- 3	26
Ali	5	7	32
Lale	7	7	34
Ebru	7	0	35
Gamze	7	5	39
Bora	7	9	42
Ezgi	7	8	43
Nejat	7	9	53
Mustafa	7	9	69
Elize	5	9	71
Kadriye	7	6	75
Mina	5	5	77
Suzan	7	8	92
Zuhal	5	9	95
Rüya	7	7	96
Ruşen	5	7.5	97
Nuri	7	8	114
Nur	5	5	125
Aysel	7	5	131
Turhan	7	8	134
Taylan	7	9	140
Yoel	5	8	146
Sabri	7	8	148
Nihat	7	7	153
Nesrin	5	7	167
Mehmet	7	8	169
Zeki	7	7	170
Kerim	5	8	184
Ada	7	no response	202
Yusuf	7	8	206
Emre	5	8	216

14.11 Appendix K. Table 8: Degree of success in transition

	Name	5/7 day status	Scholarship	Mark out of 10 for RL	End of year rank	End of year English grade %
Successful transition	Lara	7	No	8	10	94
	Leyla	7	No	7	20	93
	Lale	7	Yes	7	34	90
	Bora	7	No	9	42	93
	Ezgi	7	Yes	8	43	93
	Nejat	7	No	9	53	90
	Mustafa	7	No	9	69	88
	Elize	5	No	9	71	89
	Kadriye	7	Yes	6	75	89
	Suzan	7	No	8	92	90
	Zuhal	5	Yes	9	95	88
	Ruşen	5	Yes	7.5	97	87
	Taylan	7	No	9	140	86
	Yoel	5	No	8	146	83
	Sabri	7	Yes	8	148	79
	Nihat	7	No	7	153	82
	Mehmet	7	Yes	8	169	79
	Kerim	5	No	8	184	77
Inconsistent transition	Alev	7	Yes	7	17	93
	Ali	5	No	7	32	91
	Gamze	7	Yes	5	39	90
	Mina	5	Yes	5	77	89
	Rüya	7	Yes	7	96	89
	Nur	5	No	5	125	82
	Turhan	7	Yes	8	134	85
	Nesrin	5	No	7	167	76
	Zeki	7	Yes	7	170	74
	Ada	7	Yes	no response	202	74
	Yusuf	7	No	8	206	69
Incomplete transition	Melis	7	Yes	- 3	26	92
	Ebru	7	Yes	0	35	91
	Nuri	7	No	8	114	86
	Aysel	7	Yes	5	131	82
	Emre	5	No	8	216	68